APRIL 27
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NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

IF HITLER DIED TOMORROW . . .

Would there be any change in Nazism? What part do individuals play in history? First of three articles on war and the accident theory.

by V. J. JEROME

MR. BERLE: CZECH AND DOUBLE-CHECK

by BRUCE MINTON

THE FIFTH COLUMN SEAL

A Review of the Book-of-the-Month Choice

by FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE EDUCATION OF WENDELL WILLKIE

by EARL BROWDER

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YES, THE NAZIS SAID IT

The Deutschlandsender (DNB), broadcasting from Berlin Saturday, April 17, at 11:15 P.M. urged the suppression of your magazine. In a program entitled "Magazine of the Week" New Masses was singled out for the headsman's axe.

"New Masses," Dr. Goebbels' man said, "takes advantage of freedom of the press by using up tons of white paper. Americans are dupes for believing that the editorial policy of such Red publications is formulated by Americans. It is dictated by Moscow..." Heard that before? Of course—you've heard it from Charles E. Coughlin; from Gerald L. K. Smith; from Martin Dies. And lately you've heard it from Prof. George S. Counts. But Goebbels said it first—he's still saying it.

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WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT IT?

So Dr. Goebbels wants to remove New Masses from the American scene. Using the threadbare arguments you've heard a thousand times, he reveals the fear which foreign and native fascists have for NM's work.

Why is NM hated by these enemies of America? Because it stands in the forefront of publications battling for a policy which ensures victory. It stands for the Second Front; it stands for a streamlined economic program to ensure maximum production and maximum morale; in brief, it is in the vanguard of the win-the-war men and women of America.

We know you know this. But we are not sure you are aware of this reality: that Dr. Goebbels may see his diktat fulfilled. ...NM might be beheaded by its creditors.

The magazine is in deadly danger today. Due to various reasons—chief of which, probably, is the fact that our readers are hard-hit by the necessarily high taxes they are paying this year—our annual drive for $40,000 is perilously behind schedule. We have raised $15,700 to date; we need, imperatively, $40,000. Last year by this time we had raised $21,435. In short, we are about 27% behind schedule. Our creditors cannot wait any longer.

Unless you act, now, today, you may be hearing another broadcast by DNB: "New Masses is no more. Yesterday it closed its doors." Can you allow such a broadcast? To ask that question is to answer it.

Let Goebbels hear that Americans responded to DNB's broadcast by overfulfilling NM's financial drive.

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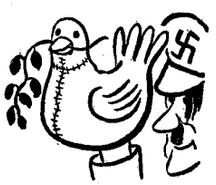
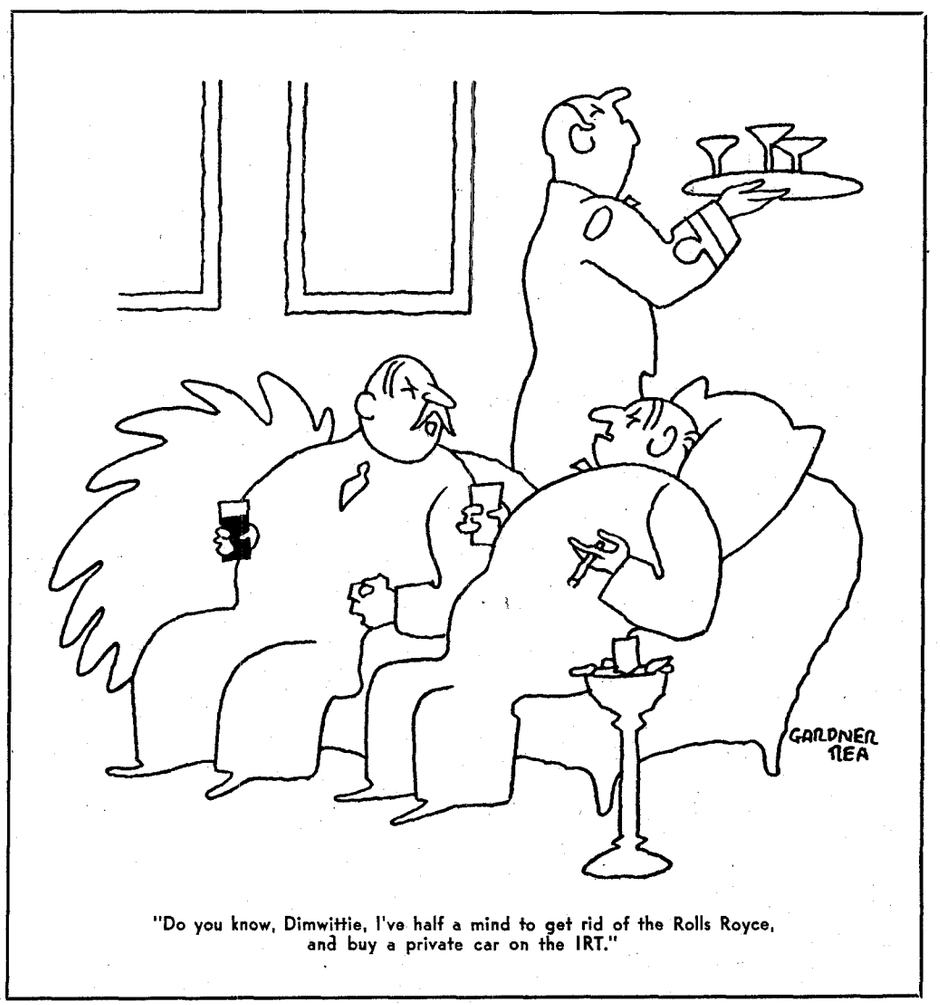
NM SPOTLIGHT

More Hitler Doves



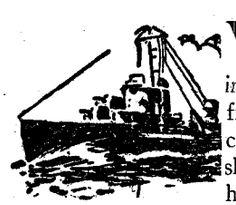
SPAIN's offer to negotiate a Nazi peace hardly comes as a surprise. In the past several days the Berlin foreign office has been busily assigning special tasks to satellite leaders in order to forestall Allied action on the continent. From the Balkans, from Italy and Hungary, have paraded Antonescu, Horthy, King Boris, and Mussolini, to receive their instructions for the disposition of troops and the line of propaganda to be carried in the press and over the radio. Madrid promptly took its cue and offered to act as an intermediary for a "peace" which would "save Europe from Bolshevism." The Spanish Foreign Minister, Francisco de Jordana, also noted that the "Holy See . . . will be able without doubt to facilitate the advent of peace and collaborate in the preparation of treaties." One may, therefore, expect a renewed peace offensive from various occupied quarters of Europe in which, pending any forthright denial, the Vatican will participate. The Rome radio has been supplementing these peace overtures with special praise for General Montgomery and the British Eighth Army. The Germans are reported to be furious at the applause for the North African commander. But this again is evidence of the elaborate division of labor in which one satellite bleats for "peace" while the Nazis supposedly protest what they inspired in the first place.

Secretary Hull's reply to the Spanish proposals was quick and to the point. He emphasized President Roosevelt's declaration at Casablanca for unconditional surrender. Nevertheless, the Spanish offer will find receptive ears both here and in Britain —particularly among those who are terrified by the consequences of a second front and the forces of liberation it will release. Goebbels' appeal to appeaser "gentlemen," such as Frederick Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War, will continue in one form or another. The ways and means are endless. Franco may find it timely again to press for a bloc of so-called neutrals as the avenue of peace negotiations. His pretense of neutrality and the State Department's milktoast attitude toward him and his regime make it possible for Hitler to use the Madrid gauleiter for any number of proposals which if they came from any other enemy source would be promptly dismissed as Nazi scheming. Only last week the San Sebastian radio announced that another contingent of the Spanish Blue Division had arrived at the Leningrad front. As long as the official attitude in this country is based on the hallucination that the Spanish government is an independent entity, then so long do we run the grave risk of another Pearl Harbor in the Atlantic.



"Do you know, Dimwittie, I've half a mind to get rid of the Rolls Royce, and buy a private car on the IRT."

In the Pacific



WHILE the urgency of opening a second land front in Europe increases by the hour, sharp warnings are heard from United Nations leaders in the South Pacific—warnings of a threatening Japanese offensive against the continent of Australia and our South Pacific supply route. General MacArthur has stressed the need for more air power; he points out that if the United Nations' air superiority in this theater of war is lost to the heavily reinforced Japanese air arm, the danger of a heavy naval attack from the island of Truk could hardly be avoided. To this demand General Kenney has added his voice. The need for greater support to our South Pacific forces has also been urged by H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister of External Affairs, now in this country. These warnings support the contention long voiced by Chinese leaders, and recently emphasized by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and by Chinese Foreign Minister T. V. Soong, that too little attention was being given the Pacific theater of war.

Eager to seize any opportunity of confusing the war effort, certain elements are exploiting the Pacific situation in another attempt to throw doubt on the grand strategy of concentrating our major power first upon the defeat of Hitler. The New

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York *World-Telegram* not only raises these doubts but uses the occasion to take a crack at our ally Great Britain. Thus Roy Howard's paper refers to "the much-criticized strategy of concentrating against Hitler first," and while the editorial writer admits that the strategy cannot be changed "at this late day" he goes out of his way to explain that it "was dictated by Churchill."

The truth of the matter is that the demands for more airplanes and other materials of war in the South Pacific are perfectly genuine requests for assistance in a very tough situation and should be answered *with all the help that can be sent consistent with the immediate opening and maintenance of a second land front in Europe*. It seems quite certain that neither General MacArthur, nor Mr. Evatt, nor any of the other United Nations officials in the South Pacific have meant their request for help to imply a doubt of the beat-Hitler-first strategy. To impute any such motive is to do them and the war effort itself a disservice.

IT IS an important fact that strong support for the second front has come from precisely the two areas most pressed by the Japanese. While asking for greater aid to China, one of that nation's leading newspapers, *Ta Kung Pao*, asks: why in view of the Nazi setbacks in the Soviet Union has a second front not been opened? In Australia the Federated Iron Workers Association paper demands a second front in Europe now, adding "This we know to be the crucial question of the whole war." And in the same country the Waterside Workers Federation pledges to "ensure that everything that can be done by Great Britain and Australia will be done, not only to establish a second front but to increase the stream of armaments and munitions so necessary to victory."

Worse for the Axis

ONE still hears criticism of Soviet policy toward Japan. A good deal of it originates in Dr. Goebbels' offices and finds an eager outlet in the news and editorial columns of the unabashed appeaser press. But occasionally the sour note creeps into a newspaper which should know better. It is presented somewhat as follows: "Moscow will get a second front in Europe but she should pay in kind by opening one in Asia." The theme has many variations, depending on the voice and instrument used. It needs answering and one of the best rebuttals we have seen was published in the eminently respectable *Foreign Policy Bulletin* for April 9. In an article headed "Soviet-Japanese Peace Aids United Nations," Far Eastern expert Lawrence K. Rosinger begins his reply by restating the fact that long ago London and Washington adopted the strategy of defeating Germany first and that ". . . the Soviet Union is at present the main force wearing the Nazis down. Clearly, if the USSR had been fighting Japan, the great Soviet winter offensive against the German armies could not have been launched, the North African campaign would probably have been impracticable, and the present opportunities for invading the continent of Europe would hardly exist. . . . A Soviet-Japanese war while Germany is still fighting could result only in an unfortunate dispersal of United Nations military power. Sometimes, it is true, the suggestion is made that the USSR should simply allow American planes to use Siberian bases against Japan, but under present circumstances this would plainly result in a Soviet-Japanese war."

MR. ROSINGER also asks and answers the question why Japan has thus far not assisted Germany by attacking in the north. In the writer's opinion Japan, unlike Italy, is not a mere Hitler satellite, and despite a harmony of outlook, acts primarily in its own interests. Japan, for example, has for some time permitted Soviet transports to freight quantities of lend-lease supplies from the west coast to Siberian ports. "These differences within the Axis, even if only temporary, permit the strengthening of the Soviet front against Germany and thereby indirectly aid the fight against Japan itself."

Soviet peace with Japan hardly minimizes Soviet influence over the Far Eastern military scene. "On the contrary," writes Mr. Rosinger, "Japan is known to maintain a number of its finest divisions in Manchuria and Korea as a counterweight to the Soviet army. . . . Soviet supplies, although reduced in quantity since the war with Germany, have also played a considerable part in bolstering Chinese resistance. . . . It is impossible to say whether Japan will long permit the United Nations to reap the benefits of Soviet-Japanese neutrality, but while this situation continues it should be recognized as representing a genuine disadvantage for the Axis of which we must make maximum use."

Letter to Wallace

FURTHER indication that Vice-President Wallace's visit to Latin America is serving to rally all progressive elements against the fifth column is revealed in an open letter addressed to him by Manuel Mora on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Costa Rica. Acknowledging their faith in Wallace and in President Roosevelt as leaders "capable of understanding the basic demand of this far-reaching period in human history," the Costa Rican Communists took the occasion to draw the Vice-President's attention to serious obstacles in the way of mobilizing the maximum manpower of the Central American nations.

The principal weapon of the fascists throughout Latin America is the organization of the fifth column under the banner of the Falange and Sinarquism, and the connections which these organizations maintain with the most reactionary sections of the political, commercial, and religious community. In addressing our Vice-President, however, the Costa Rican progressives emphasize those particular elements of disruption which our government has the power, and the obligation, to correct. The letter calls attention to those "North American companies" which "with their methods have created among the laboring masses an atmosphere of distrust toward your company."

With the rise in the cost of living, Costa Rican enterprises have been forced to raise wages; but, as the message to Wallace points out, certain American companies have even defied President Calderon Guardia's government in their refusal to do the same. For instance, the workers in the banana zone controlled by the United Fruit Company, tortured by hunger, struck in protest against such a refusal. The company retaliated by circulating the slander that "the Communists were dynamiting the company commisariats." President Calderon Guardia visited the scene and persuaded the workers to stop the strike, promising to intercede with the company on their behalf.

THE letter to Wallace claims that the company took advantage of this situation by dismissing the workers' leaders, expelling them from the banana zone, and blacklisting and terrorizing others. Such policies, the Costa Rican Communists maintain, play into the hands of Axis agents by turning the Costa Rican people against the United States.

North American employers throughout Latin America should take heed of the sound advice given them by Eric Allen Johnston, President of the US Chamber of Commerce, who said during his recent visit to Chile: "Our country and the countries of Latin America must cooperate to secure a higher standard of living for the people."

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Hold That Line

THE President's "hold-the-line" order of April 8 has afforded a powerful impetus to the central fight against inflation and for over-all economic planning. It provides a needed push toward the realization of labor-management committees with an existence in reality rather than merely on paper; of equitable incentive wages (or, as some unions more aptly describe them, war production wages); of firm price-control; rationing of all essentials, and federal supervision of supply.

Great credit should be accorded President Murray of the CIO for his immediate, positive response to the executive order. In a letter addressed to all CIO unions and councils, Mr. Murray stressed the CIO's record of consistent agitation for the stabilization of the cost of living and the prevention of inflation. He pointed out that "the recent executive order is an important step forward in establishing real stabilization of prices and thereby meeting the demand of the CIO." Now the task is to roll prices back to levels obtaining in September 1942—in President Roosevelt's words, "to reduce prices which are excessively high, unfair, or inequitable." Of course, as Mr. Murray indicated, the policy of rolling back prices must be accompanied by strict enforcement of ceiling prices already established and "to broaden the scope of rationing so that we may have a democratic system of over-all rationing of the necessities of life." And as Mr. Murray pointed out, the farmers, too, are offered important relief by the executive order. "The possibility," Mr. Murray wrote, "of affording increased income to farmers through incentives for increased production, and with no increase in the cost of living" will provide a solution to farmers without resort to the inflationary proposals advocated by the congressional farm bloc.

WHEN it comes to wages, the executive order allows for corrections of substandards of living; it provides, moreover, that wage compensations can be granted for rises in the cost of living beyond the 15 percent authorized by the Little Steel formula. "Today," Mr. Murray declared, "we must accept the basic principle of stabilization of wages. But, as the CIO has consistently maintained, stabilization of wages cannot mean a complete freezing."

And regarding Mr. McNutt's manpower freeze order: Labor's patriotism will induce it to cooperate with the measure—despite its weaknesses. For the war exigencies require solution of the manpower problem. That solution, however, will not be achieved without safeguarding the workers' welfare.

It is a serious omission that the April 8 order failed to restate the War Labor Board's power to correct gross wage inequities. This power was specifically granted in the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942. Mr. Murray emphasized the central importance of preserving this WLB function. "We must make it clear that we are not seeking to obtain general wage increases . . . but rather to eliminate inequalities because their continuance would necessarily lead to a serious deterioration of morale and of productive efficiency." In conclusion, Mr. Murray discussed the undoubted weakness of the order with regard to taxes and profits, as well as the lack of any mention of the needed $25,000 salary limitation.

The CIO response to the executive order offers the labor movement firm leadership and a program of action. Up to now, the AFL has failed to make its position clear. The mutterings of Matthew Woll, whose devotion to the war has been open to question, tend toward disruption in their one-sided condemnation of the order. Clearly, Mr. Green has the obligation to formulate a sound AFL approach to the stabilization program.

The Railroad Brotherhoods have also shown, through their publication *Labor*, an unreadiness as yet to define their position. *Labor* complains that while the President's "intentions are good," the position outlined is too rigid on wages, too weak on prices. The newspaper emphasizes the failure to give the War Labor Board the go-ahead signal to eliminate wage inequalities, claiming that the order cancels this function. This is not Mr. Murray's conclusion. The need now, as Mr. Murray made clear, is for the unions unitedly to implement the President's order and to fulfill its clear intention of achieving stabilization and a reasonable relationship between wages and the cost of living.

Strange Equality

WITHOUT undue publicity, the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee approved the constitutional amendment purporting to grant "equal political and civil rights to women." But when queried on this action the committee has shown itself surprisingly shy, refusing to make public the wording of the amendment, or even to discuss it. The suspicion arises that the committee now fears it has given its blessing to a hot potato.

Without the exact details, it is impossible to know what the majority considered "equal rights" for women. But the approved amendment is known to contain much the same sort of sophistry that has distinguished similar proposals since 1923, the first time such a measure was introduced. The amendment is backed by a group of wealthy women bent on doing "something nice" for their poorer sisters; and, not peculiarly, it receives most enthusiastic ballyhoo from sweatshop proprietors. The equality offered has its drawbacks: it abolishes laws protecting women's economic, physical, and social conditions by eliminating all protective industrial legislation; it imposes extreme hardships on the working woman; it deprives widows, wives, mothers, and children of legal protections they now enjoy and need; it creates complete chaos in regard to the legal rights and status of women.

The whole theory of the amendment, says the CIO Women's Auxiliaries, "is not a short cut to equality, but the road back to economic chaos for women." It is opposed by such organizations as the National Council of Catholic Women, the YWCA, the Consumers League, the American Association of University Women, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the National Council of Jewish Women, the League of Women Voters, the Women's Trade Union League, and the organized labor movement.

The answer to the demagogic "equal rights" movement has been provided by the Washington State Legislature, which has just adopted a law offering women what they really need most of all—a genuine weapon to fight discrimination in industry. The Washington bill provides that "Any employer of labor in this state, employing both males and females, who shall discriminate in any way in the payment of wages as between sexes or who shall pay any female a less wage . . . shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." The bill provides that "no woman shall be given any task disproportionate to her morals, health, or potential capacity for motherhood." Those truly interested in the social welfare of women now have a splendid model to follow.

Frameup of a People

"MUGGING" used to mean a technique of robbery by force but without weapons, employed chiefly by adolescent criminals. In the mouths of reactionaries and Hitlerites the term has come to have a much wider application. If you are a Negro girl, and object to being jostled in the subway, they arrest you for mugging. If you are a Negro war worker in a hurry to get home, and walk rather nervously down a dark

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street, they arrest you for mugging. If you are a Negro school child and snatch a box of chocolate cookies from another child, that is mugging too—ask the New York *Daily News*. And if, being a Negro, you happen to turn up within ten blocks' radius of the spot where some drunken hoodlum has just blacked the eye of his drunken moll, you may easily find yourself, beaten to a pulp, standing in the lineup at the local police station charged with mugging.

These cases are not fantasies; they are culled from the New York press of the last two weeks. The *Daily Worker* has thrown light on each of them. Everyone has heard of the "nurse" who was no nurse; her lie about assault and robbery by two Negroes drew tears and yells from the race-hatred press for days. It is now impossible to open the paper without coming upon the exposure of some such fiction; today's item deals with a juvenile knife-wielder who blamed his crime on "two Negroes who jumped out of a car." Before these lies are disproved, innocent men and women are assaulted with nightsticks, locked up for days under outrageously high bail, abused by foul-mouthed magistrates in all the vocabulary of a poll-tax senator, and slandered by sensational newspapers which never apologize afterward. The children of Harlem, far from getting much-needed recreational and educational facilities, are offered as victims to any sadistic cop inspired by Coughlin and Hitler—like the recently discovered Nazi policeman who was able to serve on the New York force for some years without standing out particularly. And the Negro's struggle for his share of our democracy is frustrated by a planned campaign of terror and hate.

It would be naive not to detect, in the hullabaloo about mugging in some of our press, the venom of the copperhead. Are the Negroes at last winning some recognition of their abilities, their rights, their contributions to our country, are they finding decent jobs? Quick with the slander, or democracy may become an established fact. Is national unity, indispensable to winning the war, being achieved by the destruction of race prejudice? Then let us hurry to drive a wedge between white and black; the Axis expects every man to do his duty. . . . It is significant that just those politicians and newspapers which advocate appeasing fascism are behind this all-out war on the Negro.

Dies Spies Spy

SOMEONE must have taken Martin Dies by the arm and gently whispered to him that we are at war with Nazi Germany, and that it would be discreet to recognize that fact at

Charge of the Anti-Sovieteers

THE spring thaws that brought a lull on the crucial Eastern Front brought the opposite on the diplomatic and propaganda fronts. The forthcoming giant battles in Russia are presaged by a veritable Axis-made storm in the air waves and in the press. The "anti-Bolshevik" gales blow hard. Goebbels' storm, at this moment, has one obvious objective: to disperse and to wreck upon the shoals of disunity whatever second front armadas are being formed in compliance with the Casablanca decisions.

Those whose thinking is stamped with the Berlin weltanschauung march to the fray. Last week Hearst and Roy Howard plugged the Alter-Ehrlich campaign for all it was worth. Furthermore, they played craftily upon understandable American apprehensions concerning the Pacific to subvert basic United Nations strategy. That strategy is, as we all know, the destruction of the Axis keystone—Hitler Germany—so that the fascist arch will be irretrievably weakened.

In varying degrees the Dubinsky lieutenants do the Goebbels job. Add to all this the extraneous Communist issue injected on the scene by such "liberals" as George S. Counts (author, with John L. Childs, of the divisive book "America, Russia, and the Communist Party") and others, some of whom are dupes of the conscious Fifth Column. In this category we must register the utterly disgraceful action of the Book-of-the-Month Club which selected the anti-Soviet novel "The Fifth Seal" as choice reading for some half-million Americans.

There is, unfortunately, more to record. The downright shamelessness of the Polish Government-in-Exile which did precisely what the doctor (Goebbels) ordered. It grabbed up the canard that the Soviets have murdered thousands of Polish officers, and ignored the obvious facts which Moscow made clear: that the Poles were slaughtered with traditional Gestapo eclat in order to loose a propaganda blitz against the Soviets.

Goebbels and the anti-Sovieteers within our borders must work fast. For the tide of history may drown them. The will of the peoples all over the world demands increasingly close relations with their allies and particularly with their Soviet ally. The earmarks of this can be seen everywhere; you can find it in the response recorded this week by Life magazine in its special Soviet issue. More than 75 percent of the letters received urge fuller understanding with Moscow. One can see it in the way Wendell Willkie's book, One World, is selling—for the public foresaw from his record that he would plead for full amity among all anti-Axis nations. You can estimate it by the popular interest in Warner's forthcoming film "Mission to Moscow." It is especially evident in the storm of labor resolutions for the second front. It is obvious in the increasing enthusiasm for the Russian people and for genuine coalition warfare in all parts of the world. Plain people in all lands increasingly understand the issue, hence it is Goebbels' job to confuse it. Hence the current anti-Soviet, negotiated-peace outcries.

For these reasons, all win-the-war Americans must beware of allowing important, though at this time secondary, issues to muddy the waters. Splitting hairs over post-war issues is extremely risky. Maxim Litvinov put it well the other day in Cuba when he said: "Certain of the United Nations will have to increase their present military efforts considerably not only in order to hasten victory, but even to make victory possible." And he concluded that "The coordination of general military strategic plans is still more important and timely than that of political strategy." That jibes exactly with Anne O'Hare McCormick's succinct remark: "It remains true, however, that an Allied Army on the Continent will be the best ambassador to the Kremlin." And millions of Americans will heartily agree with Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who auspiciously launched the Second War Loan by coupling it with the issue of the second front.

So to our New York readers we say, make your weight felt by attending the Labor for Victory rally at the Polo Grounds, May 2. Don't underestimate the effect of that meeting on Berlin—and among Goebbels' friends everywhere. It will be a powerful argument for the second front.

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least outwardly. The other day the Dies committee took its monkey wrench out of the war machinery long enough to issue a report on Nazi activities in the United States. It seems, children, that the German-American Bund used to heil Hitler! and the German Library of Information used to give out Nazi "information"! and George Sylvester Viereck is a Nazi spy, surprise surprise! This represents a remarkable advance for the Unamerican Committee; for the first time in its history, it is only five years behind the times.

The committee boasts of having subpoened Viereck in 1938, but doesn't mention that he never showed up and that the committee made no effort to bring him in. No one questions Mr. Dies' intimate knowledge of home-grown fascism, considering how many of its products were his darling agents; but none of this firsthand experience appears in the committee report, which is a mere hypocritical gesture toward acknowledging the war. Having emitted this protective cloud of ink, Dies is free to go on with his witch-hunt among progressive government officials and his flirtations with our peanut-sized fuehrers. The kiss of Dies is still the kiss of Death.

Irving Schwab

WHEN nine Negro boys were lined up at Scottsboro for a judicial murder, Irving Schwab stood between them and the lynching tree. As one of the ILD defense attorneys, he fought through the difficult years and the many trials, braving hostile courtrooms and the threats of the local Klansmen. It was not for fees, or the prestige of winning a famous case, that he fought, but for the lives of nine children who were being slowly tortured to death in Alabama jails. He helped make legal history in that battle.

When the Abraham Lincoln Battalion came back from Spain, and the boys who had fought fascism found themselves in fascist-inspired difficulties about reentry to the United States, Irving Schwab stepped forward to batter down the barriers. Many veterans who are now fighting the Axis again in our own armed forces owe their reentry to him. For his services he was made an honorary member of the International Brigade.

When refugees in corners of Europe looked for someone to rescue them, Irving Schwab was always there. Men whose names would have been on the long lists of fascism's victims, but for his tireless efforts on their behalf, will not forget him. His work on the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born insured that refugees and other aliens, once here, would have fair and democratic treatment. Time and again he went into court to defend them against administrative and judicial aggression. His most recent work was finding a haven for Spanish anti-fascist refugees.

Whenever the right to picket was infringed, or collective bargaining was denied, or sharecroppers were framed, Schwab could be relied on to bring his legal skill and his passionate love of justice into play. It was impossible for him to take a case without developing a warm personal solicitude for those who depended on his efforts.

And now Irving Schwab is dead, prematurely dead, worked to death; while the Mannerheims and Hoovers, the Hearsts and Hamilton Fishes wither away to a great age, pickled in their own malignancy. The loss of such a fighter as Schwab is a tragedy in any battle; how much more so in the people's war, where he will be missed not only by those he helped but by those who loved him. At his funeral was one of the Scottsboro boys, alive today because Irving Schwab lived and worked. They, and the rest of us, will not forget.

Cat Got Your Tongue?

OUR liberal contemporaries, the *Nation* and *New Republic*, marked the Jefferson bicentenary in a highly original manner. The *Nation* observed the anniversary with a profound silence that to our perhaps over-sensitive ears bespoke volumes; not even an editorial whisper disturbed the quiet of Monticello. The *New Republic* was more communicative. A week late, it carried a few lines poking fun at those, including the Communists, who joined in the "fanfare like that given the launching of a new deodorant or a Hollywood starlet. . . ." This witty simile no doubt sent *New Republic's* editorial staff into prolonged guffaws. It occurs to our own somewhat humorless board that *New Republic* might well have followed the *Nation's* example and kept its mouth shut altogether.

Press Parade

"MR. AND MRS. William A. Pixley neared the end of their self-imposed month of living on the Los Angeles County relief food allowance today, both healthy on a total food expenditure of less than $27.14, with Mrs. Pixley still worrying about increasing weight.

"In their apartment at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel the Pixleys said they would make a full report to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors in a few days, of their experiences while trying to prove the county budget adequate. . . .

"Mr. Pixley, executive director of the Southern California Property Owners' Assn. and a retired telephone executive, started the diet with his wife when a request was made to the Board of Supervisors for increased relief benefits. He said the increase would cost the county $20,000 monthly.

"Mr. Pixley lost a skirmish in the battle last week when the board raised the relief allowance for single persons eleven and a half percent in spite of what Mr. Pixley had termed 'remarkable progress' in the experiment.—New York *World-Telegram*.

"BY THE smashing majority of 55 to 2, Burns detectives this week made it clear that they, too, need union protection.

"The landslide margin was cast for an AFL Federal Labor Union by William J. Burns agency guards assigned to protect the plant of the Buffalo Arms Corp. at Cheektowaga, N. Y.

"There was a time when Burns detectives were the nation's leading labor spies. That the agency by no means relishes its employes' conversion to unionism was evidenced by the fact that it sought to block an election among the guards, but was overruled by the National Labor Relations Board."—*Labor*, Washington, D. C., March 27.

"THE best testament to both the polygot character of the army and the impartiality of its recognition of merit is the official list of orders awarded to Red Army men. Up to last October they totaled 185,000 and included seventy-nine different nationalities—among them Kalmycks, Yakuts, Mongolians, Gypsies, Ostyaks, Uigurs, Kurds, Poles, Spaniards, and Greeks. Incidentally, Jews stood third on the list with over 5,000 battle decorations —which may interest quarters ready to swallow the Himmler tale that Jews are all applauding the war from the best seats on the side lines."

—From "What Kind of Man Is a Russian General," by Edgar Snow, in the *Saturday Evening Post, April* 17.

"Jefferson's Plow"

AMONG the gratifying reactions to NEW MASSES' Jefferson Memorial Issue, it is pleasant to note that Louis Lerman's poem "Jefferson's Plow" is in play form with music by Earl Robinson. Under the title of "That Freedom Plow," it will have its premiere on Sunday, April 25, 8:30 PM, at 13 Astor Place, New York.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

STRATEGY AND ACTION

On Sunday, April 18, over the CBS network, Mr. Drew Pearson made his customary three predictions; the third one was that the Allied High Command in North Africa, faced with the alternative of slowly starving out Rommel at small cost to themselves, or storming the Tunisian intrenched camp at a high price in casualties, would choose the latter, so that a second front can be established in Europe this spring or early summer.

However, there are groups and interests who don't want to see drastic military action in line with an offensive against Festung Europa *before it has been ascertained that the Red Army is capable of and likely to take the offensive this summer.* The same groups and interests do not wish to see such military action against Europe until it has been fairly accurately ascertained that the underground movement in the conquered countries of Europe has been thoroughly emasculated by interminable waiting, physical destruction at the hands of the enemy and disappointment at our fiddling with miscellaneous Darlans and Hapsburgs.

To put it briefly, these appeaser groups want to attack Europe *only to head off the advancing Red Army and only when popular uprisings against fascism among the peoples of Europe are unlikely to develop any real power.*

What does all this mean in terms of strategy? Approximately this:

There are three basic forces acting on our side: the Red Army, the combined Allied armies, and the forces of underground Europe. The first one of these forces, so far, has been the most constant factor, hammering at the military power of fascism for twenty-two months without a break. The Red Army has fought whether its allies fought or not, whether or not they were gaining or losing.

The underground forces of Europe are of necessity diffused and their actions cannot be switched on or off like the actions of regular armies. Their effectiveness for the most part depends on the general military situation around them. They cannot be kept "on ice" forever. They are bound to deteriorate if they lose hope.

The Allied armies (taken as the entire complex of military power from Iceland to Iran) are the real variable quantity in our strategic equation. Its action is entirely controllable and so should be switched on when it will do the most good—not when it will do the least. But what do we see actually? When the Red Army is advancing, even the reactionary groups are in favor of a second front in Europe because they want to get there ahead of the Red Army, not because they want to help defeat Hitlerism. When the Red Army is hard pressed, they lose their interest in a second front. They apply the same reasoning to the underground movement, although the correlation between the "atmospheric pressure" in the underground and the attitude of the reactionary groups toward a second front is harder to trace since the underground pressure is harder to assess and evaluate at a given moment.

Of course, the defeatist groups cannot come out with an open statement that they *don't want* to defeat Hitler quickly, that they are *against coalition strategy*. Instead they invent excuses, set up campaigns.

These campaigns are conducted along two very single lines: (1) "Japan is our main enemy and should be vanquished before we tackle Hitler's Europe." At this point America is supposed to start turning its eyes westward and the process is quickened by Line No. 2: "The shores of Europe are impregnable anyway."

I have already indicated above one motive for this campaign, i.e. the desire to see the two other forces—the Red Army and the underground—either headed off if they are strong, or weakened to the breaking point when they are in retreat. (The latter contingency is considered much more desirable by the various appeaser elements.) However, there is still another motive.

And that is to prolong the war for, say, at least two or three years by concentrating on Japan now, when the forces available for such an undertaking are inadequate and therefore the war in the Pacific will be long. After that we would go at Hitler (maybe) when he will have grown still stronger in his Fortress, when the Red Army will be bled almost "quite white" and the forces of the underground are starved out. Naturally, such a course would either prolong the war for a number of years or create conditions under which a negotiated peace with the Nazis might be pushed down the collective throats of the American and British people, who, the appeasers figure, will be "sick of the whole mess."

Those are the two main motives for screaming that the shores of Europe are "impregnable" and that "Japan is our strongest enemy."

As for Europe's "impregnability," I gave my views on that last week and do not believe it necessary to elaborate on them.

What about the argument that Japan should be tackled now, before Hitler is defeated? Many "mushrooms" are cropping up on the dunghill of this theory. Let us take one of them, viz., the article by Maj. Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson, labeled an "expert" by *Look*, which prints his comments. The title of the article is "Now Is the Time to Whip Japan."

The dashing major begins by telling us that the Axis has been "*forced* back behind water barriers" in Europe (my emphasis), which is in itself a strange assertion when one thinks of the campaigns which brought Axis troops to the shores of the seas and oceans surrounding Europe. Immediately after that the major tells us that behind those water barriers Hitler has "immense resources of manpower, raw materials, and factories." One really gets the impression that Hitler has been "forced" into an Eldorado where he did not want to go. The major then asserts that in order to assure victory over Hitler on the Continent we would have to ship an army far in excess of 4,000,000 men—and he means the United States alone, because he counts in British armies as forming, with the Red Army, a force of 9,000,000 men as against the Axis' 13,000,000. Leaving aside Major Wheeler-Nicholson's calculations which are slightly on the fantastic side, we might indicate that the German armies on the Eastern Front during the twenty-two months have been striving hard to achieve certain strategic objectives, and have not secured a single decisive one. This very failure leads us to the conclusion that the German High Command has employed all the forces it could muster on the Eastern Front—especially as the Western Allies did nothing to prevent it. It would be foolish to assume that the German High Command could afford to use more divisions in the East to achieve decisive results, but simply *did not wish to do so.*

This consideration, coupled with the actual count of divisions engaged on the Eastern and Tunisian Fronts, tends to show that Hitler has only a small fraction

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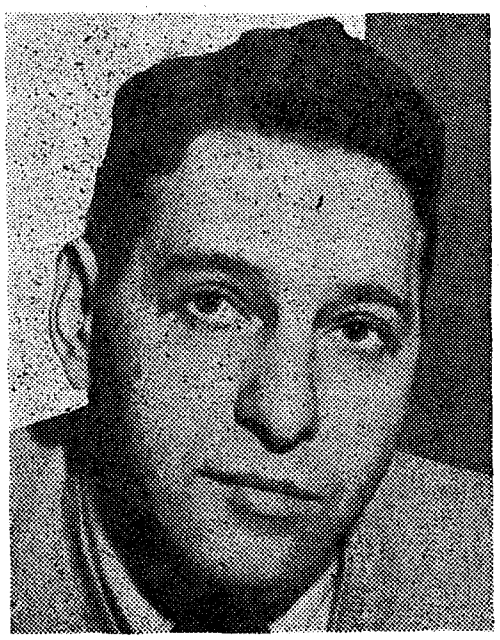
of his forces in Europe. In my estimation, it is an insult to the United States and British armies to say that they need 6,000,000 or so men to take care of Hitler's forty to fifty spare divisions.

Having said that in his "fortress" Hitler has immense resources, the major claims that Hitler is getting weaker and weaker, while Japan is getting stronger and stronger (mostly because the Japanese are "more militaristic than the Germans, more fatalistic than our Russian allies." Which is so much hokum, if only because the Russians are anything but fatalistic and the Germans are supremely militaristic.)

THE Japanese are in a fortress, too, but it is a fortress built on water. Their lines of communication are mainly on water and require, for full exploitation, much more shipping than Japan possesses or can build. The industrial capacity of Japan is incomparably weaker than that of German-held Europe. Japan may have acquired a rich larder, but it has a small stomach and cannot digest all it possesses. Its war potential is much smaller than that of its adversaries and it cannot catch up with them in anything less than a generation. As compared to Germany *plus* Europe, Japan is a second rate military power.

The soundest strategy is to attack decisively the main enemy center of military power. This center is Germany. This necessity is further intensified by the fact that the Red Army is the United Nations' chief military asset and the action of the Allies should be coordinated with its action.

GUEST EDITORIAL by Abram Flaxer



NO ROOM FOR RIDDLES

ONCE upon a time there was a riddle. And a very mysterious riddle it was. So deep was its mystery, and so profound its puzzle, that a very wise statesman said of it: "*A riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.*"

This riddle was Soviet Russia, and for years it haunted all of Europe.

Around this riddle the Nazis beat off collective security. It was to save the world from the Bolsheviks that they invaded Czechoslovakia, defeated loyalist Spain, broke up Poland, divided the democracies one from the other, smashed one small country after another, and absorbed them into the "great happy family" of fascism until at last they attacked the riddle itself.

But Russia and her great people defended themselves like no riddle at all. They defended themselves like a free fighting people, fighting for their homes and children. They defended themselves with the things they had built with their hands and their brains, with their powerful Red Army. And they made the weapons to defend themselves in their factories, moved behind the Urals into virgin forest land, to be turned into industrial cities, overnight.

The specter of Bolshevism that the Germans had used to divide the world, was no longer effective. At long last we have learned the lesson of the riddle.

The English people knew that bombs had stopped dropping on their heads, because the Nazis were busy on the Eastern Front.

Knowing Americans realized that bombs had not as yet dropped down on us because the Nazis were engaged on the Eastern Front.

The Eastern Front was giving life to the western world.

And the very statesman who raised up the riddle of Russia, proved that it was no riddle at all, when he signed for his country a twenty-year pact of mutual cooperation between the people of England and the people of Russia.

FOR once Martin Dies was silenced. We extended our lend-lease to these allies. And our sailors and their sailors convoyed the cargo to Murmansk. Russia's Molotov visited President Roosevelt and talked over plans of defeating Hitler, and agreed on the urgency of opening a second front in Europe.

And that Eastern Front did its job. It literally ate up the German army. It ground it into the dust of the wide steppes of the Ukraine. At Stalingrad they pinched off 1,000,000 men; swallowed them whole; Junker caboodle and all.

We thought the riddle was dead.

But it wasn't. Goebbels conjured it up again:

"The danger of Bolshevism, which was believed to have been definitely checked by the German armed forces, lifts its head once more. Not only so far as we are concerned, but also so far as our friends, our open and even our hidden enemies."

Once again the riddle of Russia was raised. This time to save the Nazis from the threat of a drive from the West.

The voice was the voice of Goebbels, but this cry of division, this cry to save Hitler, was echoed on our own shores. Red-baiting and riddle-raising were put to work for Hitler.

Ambassador Joseph E. Davies tackled the question of the riddle:

"In my opinion, the best approach to the solution of the 'riddle' is to forget the epigram and set to one side the idea of either an 'enigma' or a 'mystery.' The 'riddle,' if riddle there be, from my experience can be best solved by the simple approach of assuming that what they (the Russians) say, they mean; that they are honest in their beliefs, speak the truth and keep their promises. If one were to assume, also, that they were strong, able, courageous, and willing to treat others honestly, if they believe they are treated honestly themselves, the 'riddle' can be answered with reasonable certainty."

On the side of the United Nations there is no room for riddles. Let's finish up this business of defeating fascism by coordinating our resources and manpower, by timing our blows so that the fascist enemy will feel its impact mortally. The second front in Europe is what the Nazis fear the most. The complete and final answer to the conundrum is coalition warfare. Let us smash their false riddle with the blows of a second front.

Mr. Flaxer is president of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America. His editorial above is also appearing in his union's monthly "News."

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WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

MR. BERLE AND THE CZECHS

Washington.

EDUARD BENES, president of Czechoslovakia, is coming to Washington to discuss United States-Czech relations with President Roosevelt. At one time, the rumor circulated that the visit had been postponed because Dr. Benes ran into trouble when he applied for an American visa. The gossip took on some weight in view of the unconcealed coolness long displayed by the State Department toward Benes and the Czechoslovak government —a coolness surpassed only by the Department's open refusal to have anything to do with the Free French. Now, however, Col. Vladimir Hurban, Czechoslovak minister to the United States, assures me that Dr. Benes will certainly arrive here in the near future and, while in Washington, will be the guest of the White House.

Originally the trip was scheduled for the early months of 1943. The delay, it is said—unofficially of course—was necessitated by the arrival of the British foreign minister, Anthony Eden, whose simultaneous presence in Washington with Dr. Benes would have placed the Czech president in a secondary position, detracting from the importance of his mission. Be that as it may, the prospect of receiving Benes even at this late date hardly evokes enthusiasm among certain groups within the State Department.

Speculation over the Benes visit has given some credence to a story circulated in the capital and vouched for in reliable quarters, but officially denied by both the Czechoslovak Legation and the Assistant Secretary of State, Adolph A. Berle, Jr. Supposedly, so the insiders say, Mr. Berle received Colonel Hurban and the Czech Information Minister late in November or early in December 1942. At this meeting, Mr. Berle assumed an extremely angry and hostile tone, prompted by Czech protests against the War Department's sponsorship of an Austrian Battalion in the US Army, a battalion in which Archduke Otto Hapsburg was to play a leading role. According to the story going the rounds, Mr. Berle told the Czech representatives that the State Department would not tolerate their meddling in United States affairs, or their interference with the Department's dealings with any other group or nation it chose to favor. In addition, Berle informed Colonel Hurban that the attitude of the Benes government evoked growing displeasure in the State Department, since Czech policy ran counter to American wishes. Colonel Hurban was urged to inform his government to this effect.

THE implications of these sharp remarks were clear enough. No particular secret has been made in the past of the efforts of certain State Department groups—with which Berle was usually identified—to sponsor postwar plans for a confederation of small states in middle Europe. For its part, the Czech government has insisted on national independence for Czechoslovakia, and also has indicated a genuine willingness to cooperate with the Soviet Union and all other members of the United Nations. In fact, while elements in the Yugoslav and Polish governments-in-exile make no bones of their anti-Soviet bias, the Benes government has exhibited a marked friendliness to the USSR. The Czechs have armed units on the Eastern Front actively fighting the Nazis.

Mr. Berle's remarks were supposedly so insulting that the Czech spokesmen became deeply alarmed. Their concern was somewhat assuaged, the story continues, when Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, learning of the incident, informed Colonel Hurban that Mr. Berle had no authority whatsoever to speak for the Department on such matters of policy, and that Mr. Berle's remarks did not convey the true sentiments of the United States government.

Nevertheless, immediately after this alleged conversation between Colonel Hurban and Berle, the Czech minister left for London to report to his government. He arrived in England late in December and did not return to Washington until the end of February. Soon after he talked to Dr. Benes in London the first intimations were heard here of Dr. Benes' proposed visit to Washington.

IN TRYING to run down this story, I called at the Czech Legation. The first secretary, Dr. Vladimir Palic, said that he had never heard of the incident, but urged me to take it up with the minister. Colonel Hurban denied the story flatly. True, he said, Dr. Benes was coming to Washington, but he had encountered no passport difficulties. Colonel Hurban could recall no conversation with Mr. Berle which could have given rise to the unfortunate story. He added that because of Dr. Benes' well known record and his outspoken opinions on controversial subjects, many people naturally opposed his attitude.

Mr. Berle, when I saw him, was no less forthright in his denial. The whole story was "fantastic," he said, except perhaps the implication that the Czechs disliked the Austrian Battalion—as did the State Department, he added—but the Czechs had never registered an official protest. Mr. Berle went on to paraphrase sections of the speech he had delivered the evening before in Reading, Pa.—warning against "the attempt to create in Britain and in the United States fear of Soviet Russia," and stating that "today, the idea of a buffer state is as dead as a dodo."

Mr. Berle was most courteous. However, he did not allow the short interview to end without warning me of his displeasure concerning the story. He again recalled his Reading speech, in which he had accused "meddlers, or loose thinkers, or plain liars" of spreading propaganda inspired by the Nazis that "public officials are not sufficiently friendly to Russia—or else that they are too friendly." He added that stories such as the one I asked about were dangerous because certain people —not himself, Berle indicated—could very well accuse the USSR of wanting to pick a fight with the United States.

Mr. Berle is a slick little man, sharp, nervous, energetic, volatile, and inordinately vain. Now in his middle forties, he still carries over some of the defiant self-assurance of the child prodigy—after all, he entered Harvard College at the age of fourteen. Nor has his brilliance gone unrecognized or unsung. Yet Mr. Berle remains touchy when his actions are challenged or criticized, apt to think his self-vaunted "liberalism" unappreciated. At the risk of incurring his displeasure, it is necessary to repeat the exceedingly well known fact that he has been associated with almost every anti-Soviet intrigue since he entered the State Department in 1938. He has been closely identified with every policy smacking of Munich (including Munich itself) and with outright appeasement.

The policies of the State Department for the past decade have been at best ambivalent. Mr. Berle has favored attitudes leading to deals with such traitors as Darlan, to flirtations with Vichy, to appeasement of Franco in Spain, to support of Mikhailovich, to strengthening the Mannerheim-Ryti clique in Finland, to the shameful provoca-

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tion indulged in by Ambassador Standley in Kuibyshev. Not that there is any love lost for Berle among those other State Department dignitaries who have gone along with his policies. Clement Dunn and Brekenridge Long, for example, join with Berle not out of any affection for the bumptious little pedant, whom they consider a far too ambitious and arrogant upstart; they tag along with Berle because of a similar reactionary outlook, and because they agree in their hatred of the Soviet Union. Of all the supporters of an unreconstructed imperialism, Berle has proved the most energetic, the most irrepressible, the most versatile. Moreover, Berle gained a certain amount of support from William C. Bullitt, former ambassador to the USSR and France, bitter foe of the Soviet Union, and an ardent appeaser, who avidly anticipates the time when he would replace Cordell Hull as Secretary of State. Of course, Berle also has his eye on the post of Secretary. But that is a long-range matter. In the interim, Berle decided to use Bullitt—and Bullitt confidently expected to use Berle. The result, for all the jockeying over position, in which Berle probably came out second best, was collaboration in a program smelling strongly of appeasement.

For all the about-face expressed by Berle in the Reading speech, his past record is hardly evidence of any singular devotion to constructive unity. Perhaps it is ungenerous to look a gift horse in the mouth, as Mr. Berle subtly implied during his interview with me, but one speech does not make a foreign policy; and it is a doubtful luxury to hold oneself up as a fool, as Mr. Berle did when he excoriated every idea he has espoused so vehemently for so many years. Perhaps Mr. Berle has actually reformed, perhaps he has taken to heart the advice undoubtedly offered him before he went to Reading. If his conversion is the real thing, it is well to remember the positions Mr. Berle must abandon to convince the many skeptics. Hardly a principle he advocated in the past, hardly an idea he upheld, has forwarded what he described in his speech as the "great structure of a reorganized and peaceful world" resting inevitably on the "four great freedom-loving powers . . . the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China."

COLONEL HURBAN could not diplomatically be expected to do less than deny the story of Berle's reported attack on the Czech government. Nor was it likely that Berle would be eager to confirm the episode even if it had occurred. I am willing to take the denials at face value. Yet the fact that the rumor was immediately accepted as true only indicates the distrust generally accorded to Mr. Berle and his close associates. Even after dismissing the Berle-Hurban row as complete fiction, the essence of the story remains—that Berle, and with him Bullitt and others of the same general opinions—have treated the Czechs, valued members of the United Nations, with far less consideration than they have shown to outright fascist enemies; the Finnish government, for example, or the reactionary, anti-Semitic, anti-Soviet cliques which falsely claim to speak for the Polish and Yugoslav people.

Moreover, there is little doubt that Dr. Benes is coming to this country so that the Czechs can discuss relations between their nation and the United States directly with President Roosevelt, and over the heads of the Berle faction. Colonel Hurban, for his part, has experienced rebuffs and insults at the hands of our diplomats. Why is it, for example, that Berle insists on dealing with Milan Hodza, who got his visa through Bullitt in Paris? (Bullitt also obtained visas for the Hapsburgs and for Jan Valtin.) Hodza is a reactionary Slovak, violently anti-Benes, rabidly anti-Soviet. As a member of the Czechoslovak government during the Munich period, he preferred the Munich "settlement" to Soviet support. He came to this country ostensibly for his health, but soon after he reached Hot Springs he was out lecturing for the Slovak League which endorsed the quisling Tiso government in Slovakia. Yet Berle has cultivated this traitor, while he has cold-shouldered Colonel Hurban and Dr. Benes.

There is no doubt of Berle's interest—up to the time he delivered his speech in Reading—in plans to set up a *cordon sanitaire* in middle Europe. His present denials may presage a change, which would be all to the good. But the reasoning he displayed at Reading leaves something to be desired. Berle declared that a *cordon sanitaire* is outdated for military reasons. As he explained it to me, it is a carry-over from the power politics of the Metternich period based on the premise of land warfare, entirely superseded these days by the new conditions of air warfare. Whether this shift in military technique alters the usefulness of buffer states to reaction as sweepingly and as decisively as Mr. Berle suggests, I cannot say. But the Berle faction thinks not only in military terms but in political terms as well. A federation of small weak states on the border of the Soviet Union, dominated by clerical fascists and ultra-reactionaries would very definitely tend to isolate the Soviet Union. Berle has often been closeted with Otto of Austria, Hodza, and many others like them, including the Hungarian fascist Tibor Eckhardt. (The last named was recently exposed by Adam Lapin in the *Daily Worker*, who also revealed that Berle caused the unofficial Committee for Nationality Problems to hire as secretary one Rebecca G. Wellington, who for years served the German, Italian, and Finnish governments.) The confederation idea, to which Berle has devoted so much thought, is without argument a complete negation of everything the United Nations have come to represent. The reactionary character of any mid-European confederation as envisioned by Berle would make imperative the support of the confederation from the outside. Ultra-imperialists in this country believe that through a confederation the United States could keep an eager finger in the Central European pie.

Not long ago William Bullitt turned up as chairman at a meeting in New York where a certain Coudenhove-Kalergi expounded his threadbare Pan-European plan, another name for a confederation of buffer states with an anti-Soviet orientation and controlled from a distance. The Austrian "philosopher" has been peddling this scheme since the twenties. Suddenly Bullitt associates himself with the idea, and somehow Sumner Welles was persuaded to send greetings to the meeting. The Pan-European formula is nothing better than a blueprint of an anti-Soviet setup.

To the Czechoslovaks, of whom Benes is the recognized leader, Pan-European "theories" have little appeal. They negate the Four Freedoms, the principle of self-determination and integrity for small nations. In the current *American Mercury* magazine, Kingsbury Smith describes what he calls "Our Government's Policy for Postwar Germany." The editors of the *Mercury* add that Smith "consulted authoritative government sources," taken in Washington to mean Berle. Smith hints that certain State Department officials are talking about a middle European confederation. He tells of proposals of "American planners that Germany must be drastically decentralized as a political and economic unit, even to the point of breaking up the country into separate states or regions. . . ." Smith makes clear that this is a State Department plan, not a United Nations plan, to be administered by what he terms "American *Gauleiters*."

WHEN Benes was in this country in 1939, President Roosevelt received him at Hyde Park, mostly because the State Department fought against an official meeting at the White House. If the Berle faction is as anxious to reform as Berle makes out, it could well start with a change of attitude toward the Czechs. The Berle group could treat Colonel Hurban with a courtesy at least equal to that shown the ministers of governments no longer in existence—Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia. Why shouldn't the Czechoslovaks receive the recognition accorded to every other European member of the United Nations—to the Yugoslavs, the Poles, the Dutch, the Greeks? Only the Czechs are limited to the status of a legation; all the other nations have been raised to embassies. Something is wrong when the explanation of this insult is said here to be the Berle crowd's desire to "punish" the Benes government for refusing to take an attitude hostile to the USSR, and for showing so

(*Cont'd on p. 30*)

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IF HITLER DIED TOMORROW

A prominent Marxist scholar blasts the "accident" theory of war and peace. Can fascism be explained by the pathological mentality of one man? The first of three articles by V. J. Jerome.

WE ARE engaged in a war that challenges our social understanding. This war, of a scope and significance unique in history, involves questions of profound theoretical import and vital practical meaning.

An understanding of the national-liberation character of this war is essential to effective patriotic action. The subject matter of the war—and, by extension, of war in general—must cease to be considered the intellectual monopoly of military strategists and professional theorists. It must become the possession of our entire citizenry, and especially the working class, which by its position in the country's war effort, by its sacrifices, and by its tradition of struggle, must now increasingly come forward as the nation's mainstay and rallying force.

The problem is well outlined in an address by Maxim Litvinov to the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia on April 10, 1942. The Soviet ambassador discussed the fact that governments and leaders had for years countenanced brute Nazism, its rise, its strengthening, then its insolent encroachments upon the national integrity of one country after another. And he raised the question how it was that:

". . . the statesmen, responsible popular leaders, governments, knowing the program of Hitlerism, its aims and the means by which these aims were to be achieved, knowing that the realization of this program would mean the destruction of century-old achievements of the human spirit, of the most important social-political conquests, knowing that it would be equivalent to a return to the Middle Ages, if not to primeval times, that it would spell the end of the independence of most States, the enslavement, in the literal sense of the word, of whole nations, yet did nothing to prepare for self-defense, nothing for the unification of the efforts of those marked out as victims of Nazi aggression. I am convinced that the study of this question will throw fresh light on the whole structure of modern society and furnish fresh standpoints for the study of nationalism, patriotism and the State."

This statement presents the issues squarely.

Disaster menaces that people which does not know the organic connection between fascism and the wars of aggression it has unleashed, which fails to see peace as a condition possible only with the total destruction of fascism, which fails to make war upon the basic factor in Axis aggression—fifth column and "negotiated peace" collusion.

The ideas advanced by certain specialized thinkers have served to obstruct the path to clear conception and decisive action for winning the war. It is a task of Marxism, the science of social development, to expose the fallacies behind the paralyzing conclusions of such thinkers, whether they be classified as liberals or conservatives—conclusions that are even today taught in the institutions of learning.

WE SHALL begin by examining a widespread type of opinion—more accurately, fancy—which rejects any scientific approach to the question of war and peace.

This tenacious notion in regard to war as a phenomenon in social development may be summed up as the "accident theory." Refuted many times by scientific historians, this theory nevertheless is persistently popularized through newspapers, lecturers, "personality builders," and "best seller" psychologists. The accident theory has many variants; but in essence it holds that *wars spring out of chance elements in society, beyond prediction and beyond control.* History refutes this theory, which always gives rise to intellectual confusion and practical impotence.

RECENT events offer us a tragic illustration of the fallacy of the accident theory of history. We have been told by press and radio commentators that appeasement, which led to the war that began in September 1939, was the manifestation of a chance circumstance, the "mistakes of Chamberlain"—the failings of the man who staked everything to bring us peace in our time! "After all," wrote the New York *Times* in an editorial obituary, "Neville Chamberlain tried to bring peace to Europe. . . . Was it not better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all?"

Of course, those who so blithely hailed his flight to Berchtesgaden will not today declare that Chamberlain steered the ship of State with the rudder of wisdom. Indeed, the course of events has since raised to the level of satire, the devotional quatrain to which Britain's laureate Masefield was inspired by that winged mission for "peace with honor":

As Priam to Achilles for his son,
So you, into the night, divinely led
To ask that young men's bodies,
not yet dead,
Be given from the battle not begun.

But to reduce the appeasement policy, with Munich as its crowning glory and world war as its outcome, to the "mistakes of the Statesman" means to ignore completely the important question: Why did the decisive sections of British finance capital consistently demand, support, and justify Chamberlain's "mistakes" and his administration? Why did the corresponding elements in France and America, with a constancy strange in any theory of accidents, make the same sort of "mistakes" in foreign policy in that period? Why are "mistakes" of that sort still being made—in regard to Franco-Spain, to Finland, to Mikhailovich, to Darlan and Darlanism? The fact that it was Neville Chamberlain, the particular umbrella-toting Tory, who brought us "peace in our time," is not of ultimate significance. It might just as well have been Sir Samuel Hoare, or Captain David Margesson, or any one of the Lieutenant-Colonel John Theodore Cuthbert Moore-Brabazons. "Appeasement," a pro-fascist policy representing the rejection of collective security and growing out of the fear of the democratic forces of the people, upon whom collective security was necessarily resting—*that* was the essence of the matter. The Munichism that cut across governments was the continuous, systematic policy of the dominant imperialist circles in bourgeois-democratic states (our own included), which betrayed and sacrificed people after people and built up the Nazi war potential to make possible Hitler's *Drang nach Osten.* The vast, engulfing war inevitably resulting from that policy of deception and ruination, with its rejection of collective security, its sabotage and disruption of the peace front, incontestably proves that policy to have been the greatest of all tragic errors throughout history. The "mistakes" of Chamberlain are pertinent only because they represented that policy of reactionary, pro-fascist forces. They did not represent an inconsistency, but were, on the contrary, part of a very coherent pattern.

The "mistake-of-the-Statesman" theory hides, whether by intention or not, the currents of appeasement and the appeasers who carry on where Chamberlain was forced to leave off. Such a theory impedes the war effort which is the refutation by guns, tanks, and planes of the appeasement

This article, and the two subsequent ones to appear in forthcoming issues, are from a work in progress by Mr. Jerome.

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policy, and which demands the utter rout of the appeasers and "negotiators" still entrenched.

ANOTHER variant of the "accident theory" of war is furnished by an editorial diversion, entitled "Two Paper Hangers," which appeared in the New York *Sun* on Feb. 19, 1942. The article tells a tale of thirty years ago in Germany, relating to two workers in the same trade. One of them was Benny Nussbaum, a good paper hanger, who came to the United States and became an American citizen and a Senior Post Warden; the other, according to Benny, was "not only a crackpot, but he couldn't put up paper straight." This crackpot, crooked paper hanger gave up his job at an early age, and, needing something to do, went in for politics. And so he has killed off millions of people, made slaves and starvelings of many more millions, and is hell-bent for conquering the world. "Perhaps," concludes the sage of the *Sun*, "if Adolf Schiklgruber had not been a failure at interior decoration, the world would have been a good deal happier." End quote!

As for the merits of Adolf the paper hanger, let the interior decoration of his "New Order" bear witness. That is not the issue. The philosophical editorialist of the *Sun* propounds his accidentalist conception of history, namely, that the villainies of Nazism are due to the quirk of fate that made one Shicklgruber abandon his trade of paper hanging.

Far from being the isolated quip of one bemused editorialist, this approach to history is not uncommon in newspapers, magazines, and books. It has constituted a dangerous influence, since so many Americans, educated to believe each man the master of his fate, have been ill-informed with respect to the primacy of the material conditions of life and the social forces manifested by them. Translated into practice, the accidentalist approach would lead us into the blind alley of getting rid of Hitler while leaving Nazism intact. It plays into the hands of those who would, in fact, make Nazism respectable by eliminating its present embarrassing Fuehrer; who would have us address ourselves to the "gentlemen Nazis," Herr von Ribbentrop, or Herr Goering, or to the Generals, for instance, with the offer of a "negotiated peace."

That this danger is actual was noted in the New York *Times* daily book review of March 11, 1943. Commenting on the thesis in a current book of political observation that, with the 1934 purge, the German Army took permanent control of Hitler, the reviewer declares that if this thesis is correct, "then a score of reporters and commentators have been misleading us grievously. For if Hitler and his generals are one and the same thing, then it would be a great mistake to make a peace with the generals after the disappearance of Hitler."

Although the reviewer does not advocate such "peace-making," the comment reveals the extent of this dangerous idea.

Clearly, the seemingly innocent "accident theory" lands us in the lap of Hitler's helpmates!

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE, author of a number of works on psychiatry, has seriously presented essentially the same accidentalist version of Hitler's rise to power and his course of aggression:* Hitler's politics has its source in his paranoia. "Unfortunately, the man who bites carpets also tears up empires, starves whole nations, murders hostages, thus enjoying to the full the cruelty of despotism."

It all began, we are told, with the wounding of his pride in early youth, when his father "declared that he had no talent as a painter." Never accepting this verdict, Hitler bore an undying hatred toward his father, "which was displaced and attached itself to every authority which he encountered." Ambition, grown out of the sense of inferiority (which was intensified by sexual impotence), coupled with two other psychopathic factors—"neurotic craving for security" and "inability to make concessions"—are given as the sources of Hitler's advance to power. It is these factors that brought him to adopt his program of conquest and destruction, and led him, through complicated rationalizations of his basic error, "to consider himself the Messiah of the German race, called by Providence to serve a chosen people and give it the domination of the world."

We do not presume to raise for discussion de Saussure's psychiatric findings in regard to Adolf Hitler. They may be entirely true. The personal as well as the political degeneracy of Hitler and his fellow-chieftains of the Nazi Party is a fact which neither Gestapo terror nor rigid Nazi censorship has been able to suppress. Our concern with de Saussure's approach is that it tends, in its effect, to ignore or blur the interpretation of Nazism, and the wars of

* "Psychopathology of Adolf Hitler," in *Free World*, June, 1942.

Kukriniksi in the Soviet Press

In a letter found on Leonard Traudel, Nazi soldier on the Soviet-German front, Frau Traudel asked her husband to send her some things for the children. "Don't worry if they are soiled or even blood-stained," she wrote, "they can be washed."

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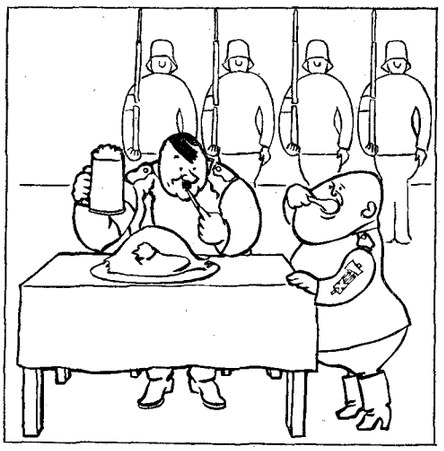

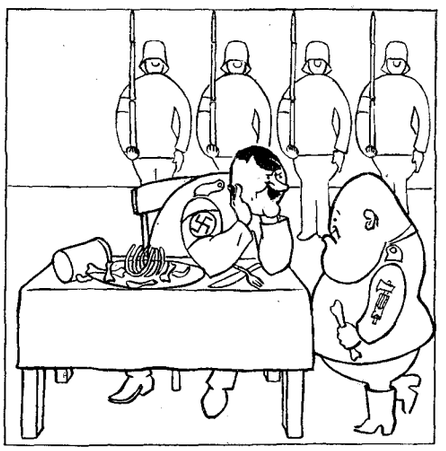

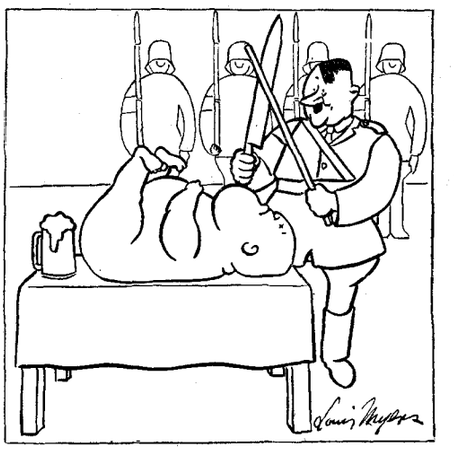

aggression it unleashed, as a historic phenomenon. This effect is unfortunately not canceled by de Saussure's remark, in one brief parenthetic paragraph, that "Hitler's delirium would not alone account for his success," that the rise of this madman to power "can only be explained by the fact that Germany itself was going through a period of social and political abnormality," but that "this aspect of the question is too vast to be treated here." We have no concrete indication whatever even here, in passing, of the socio-economic forces that led to the advent of Hitler and Hitlerism. On the contrary, the reference to "political and social abnormality" suggests that had de Saussure carried out his further interpretation, we could expect no more than a continuation of psychoanalysis on a national scale: the paranoiac Hitler writ large over a map of a paranoid Reich.

The psychological approach to historical monsters always tends to a subjectivist interpretation of history. It could never, for instance, in the present case, reveal why the cold, rapacious, calculating German imperialists would select as their chief of State "the man who bites carpets." In the final analysis, this accidentalist approach is, and must be, at a loss to reveal Nazism, and fascism in general, as a particular form of political reaction and to trace its rise to the crisis throes of postwar Germany, hardest hit of all the crisis-ridden capitalist powers. It cannot explain Nazism as a policy that was fostered, abetted, and subsidized by the ultra-reactionary, ultra-chauvinistic sections of German monopoly capital, with their aim at once to crush by counter-revolutionary terror the advancing movement of the democratic masses led by the class-conscious workers, and to adventure upon wars of aggression to subjugate the world.

It fails, further, to connect the rise of Nazism with the encouragement and direct aid which the camp of Hitler received at the hands of the most reactionary monopolist circles abroad, who dreaded the outcome of the German people's democratic advance and who sought to bring about a resurgence of German imperialism and to pervert the German Reich into a gendarme against Bolshevism.

Any personalized interpretation of Hitler's accession to power means, finally, that the war of the Axis for world domination is but the violent outcome of the aberration of the man Hitler. The political policy suggested, as we have already seen, is the elimination of Hitler but not Hitlerism.

The accident theory of war, as of any other recurrent and significant historical phenomenon, is unscientific by the very fact that it subordinates, if it does not utterly disregard, the *essentiality* in the relatedness of events to one another. Events that occur again and again with a certain similarity and under certain like attendant conditions may, like tenement fires, be mainly "accidental" as to their outbreak at a particular time and place; but, also as with tenement fires, we should be much less than scientific if we failed to look for those broader conditions inseparable from the existence of tenements which bore the real responsibility for their occurence.

The accidentalist theory is unscientific through its failure to learn from the organized and recorded experience of society; it is *anti*-scientific by its implicit assertion that our generalized experience teaches us nothing and arms us with nothing. It would rob us of our weapons for the defense of civilization today, as well as of our capacities for building it anew. By shunting our understanding away from the essential cause of war, it would keep us from adopting a correct political attitude to war in general and to this war in particular; it would render us impotent to exercise any directive or controlling influence with regard to wars, their eventuation, their character and conduct, their objective, their duration, and their culmination. For a world which we cannot analyze, in which things happen without law, is a world against which we cannot contend, and one in which human acquiescence and passivity are the only justifiable attitudes.

V. J. JEROME.

Prayer for Every Voyage

Moontrap sea, let go my man,
stop weaving ripples over his eyes,
stop tying seaweed round his hand,
let him out to talk loud again,

Mantrap sea with the salty teeth
biting holes in my man's ship,
let him have peaceful air to breathe,
let him come home and go to sleep

with my hand lying under his head
and my whisper there to soothe
the dreamwaves galloping over the bed,
make his lips soft and his eyelids smooth.

Deathtrap water, open your door,
let him out to talk loud again,
slash his way through the sea once more
and carry the guns to the fighting men.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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"ONE WORLD"

Earl Browder reviews Wendell Willkie's account of his trip around the globe. The education of a Republican in United Nations affairs. A major contribution to the war.

THIS is a valuable and interesting book, of high political importance. Mr. Willkie's report on his trip around the world last summer, the things he learned, and the conclusions he is drawing, give us something new under the sun—a major leader in the Republican Party who is conscious of the world, of its new problems, and of the rising new forces which must be understood and dealt with. It is a book which must be studied by all interested in shaping the future policy of the United States.

As a statement of policy, Mr. Willkie's book belongs in one group with the speech of Henry Wallace of May 8, 1942, and of Sumner Welles of May 30, 1942. It gains its special interest, however, in its demonstration that Mr. Willkie has followed his own nose in reaching that position, with a minimum of ideological influence from any source. It is above all the record of the education of Mr. Willkie, the practical man of affairs, who flew around the world in forty-nine days to survey the problems of establishing the United Nations as a going concern, with much the same hard-headed objectivity and bold driving to the center of problems which brought him to the top of American finance capital, and then enabled him to "blitz" the Republican Party Convention in 1940, emerging overnight as a major national political leader. Mr. Willkie is now, overnight, a major factor in the leadership of international affairs.

All the "experts" in foreign affairs will consider this book a demonstration of "colossal ignorance and naivete." But the world must be thankful that Mr. Willkie did not turn to the "experts" and their books for his education, but went directly to life itself. For thereby he cut through a thousand and one of the polite fictions of established thinking in American "respectable circles" which fetter and defeat even many of the most courageous thinkers, imprisoning the more timid as effectively as a chalk-marked circle is supposed to imprison a chicken. The established chalk-marks of foreign policy mean nothing to Mr. Willkie; therefore his book is a fresh breeze which will invigorate the nation's thinking.

Mr. Willkie's main thesis is entirely sound, and quite necessary to victory in the war. It is the thesis that the Axis can be destroyed only by waging real coalition war against it; that for the United States this requires acceptance of the Soviet Union and China as equals in the coalition, which is something still to be achieved; that the postwar world will be determined entirely by how we fight and win the war. The force and originality with which Mr. Willkie develops this thesis makes of his book a major contribution to the war.

Some minor criticisms and objections must be registered on various points. Mr. Willkie correctly sees the inevitable dissolution of the colonial system, and the British "what-we-have-we-hold" attitude as a major obstacle to victory; but he does not seem to know that the Jordan-Luce theory of American imperialism taking over the British colonial empire (still very much alive), is the greatest single stimulus to die-hard British imperialism, and the insuperable obstacle to American intervention in the Indian question. Therefore, Mr. Willkie failed to dissociate himself clearly from the Jordan-Luce school, a failure all the more serious since he has close personal connections in that camp. He fails to achieve the same frank and fresh approach to the British as to the Russians. And that's a pity. He shouldn't carry any of the unnecessary load of the "globaloney" wisecrack.

IT IS also necessary to note that on many questions not central to Mr. Willkie's concentrated interest, his lack of acquaintance with political ideologies leaves him at the mercy of stereotyped thinking which is hostile to his main direction. Thus, after most admirable chapters on the Soviet Union, in the course of which he demonstrates conclusively the kinship between that land and our own, in the details of life, in the type of character it brings to the front, and in the basic democratic spirit of the people—he still feels it necessary to repeat the old cliche of being opposed to Communism as "a system that leads to absolutism." The trouble with this is that Mr. Willkie is not really thinking on this plane at all, and it is therefore useless to argue with him; he is only repeating a fashionable rubber stamp. If we wish a fruitful discussion with Mr. Willkie on the relative merits of capitalism and Communism, this obviously can be only on his real thesis, namely, that capitalism is better because it produces the goods in America. But we are content to leave Mr. Willkie the convinced adherent of capitalism, merely warning him against the unsound identification between socialism and absolutism which is confused thinking.

Similarly we may note with amusement Mr. Willkie's bland assumption that to "talk sense" requires to talk solely in terms of Mr. Willkie's experience. Cross-examining a Soviet factory manager, he asks why the manager has no ambition to be the "owner" of the plant as a capitalist, and reports sadly: "For ten minutes I found myself listening to Marxist and Leninist theories which I finally interrupted." It never occurs to him that there could be any serious answer to his question in "Marxist and Leninist theories." Truly there was never any danger of Mr. Willkie being subverted by Bolshevik theory.

How abysmal is American ignorance of the Soviet Union is shown by the fact that Mr. Willkie was unquestionably correct in his judgment that he needed to inform his readers regarding the Soviet officials, that:

"Each of these is an educated man, interested in the foreign world, completely unlike in manner, appearance, and speech the uncouth, wild Bolshevik of our cartoons."

The influence of those American cartoons upon political judgments is later demonstrated when Mr. Willkie reports his impressions of General Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist leader. Mr. Willkie liked Chou, and therefore thought he could not be a typical Communist. He writes: "He left me with the feeling that if all Chinese Communists are like himself, their movement is more a national and agrarian awakening than an international, or proletarian conspiracy." Some day, we may hope, when Mr. Willkie has met Communists of many lands without once finding his "ideal conspirator" and the wild cartoon figure, he may awake to the idea that they all represent a "national awakening."

Mr. Willkie is obviously guilty of a bit of careless thinking, when he finds a "common fallacy" in the Atlantic Charter and Stalin's statements, in that they "forecast the recreation of western Europe in its old divisions," that gave rise to the war. That is an unjustified interpretation of the principle of self-determination, which if followed up would lead Mr. Willkie onto highly debatable grounds. That greater unity so desirable for postwar Europe cannot be imposed, but must be the result of free choice, of self-determination. And Mr. Willkie himself at all other points of his book seems so sound on the principle of self-determination, that one must only judge that he "slipped" a bit in his haste to be a step in advance of the Charter.

I find that I have given most of my space for noting minor defects and weaknesses of *One World*. Let me warn the reader that Mr. Willkie's book gives no impression of weakness, however, but is robust, fresh, courageous, and hits hard to the very center of the most important questions of the day in world affairs. It brings forward the outstanding candidate for the Republican nomination to the presidency in 1944, in a very strong position. Let us hope he will give us an equally strong book on domestic problems before next year.

EARL BROWDER.

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OUR RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

How they can be improved. The views of six prominent Americans. A symposium.

To help clarify public opinion and contribute toward closer collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union, "New Masses" has asked a number of prominent Americans to give brief answers to four questions. Earlier replies were published in the issue of April 13.

The questions are:

1. What in your estimation is the status of Soviet-American relations?

2. What obstacles do you feel must be overcome in order to strengthen the ties between both countries?

3. What bearing do you think the question of a second front has on relations between Washington and Moscow?

4. In the light of present Soviet-American relations what do you think our government's attitude toward Finland should be?

Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher

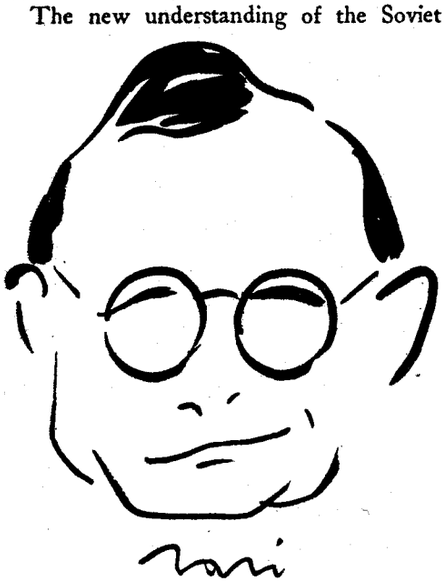
Graduate School of Applied Religion, Cincinnati, O.

American-Soviet relations today are healthier than at any time since the Allied war of intervention of 1919-20. This is clearly the case if we measure good relations by the attitude of rank-and-file citizens; more so than when we try to gauge by the utterances of our diplomats. I am personally convinced that the people offer our State Department a generous mandate of friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union, perhaps more generous than Washington and certain reactionary but influential elements are willing to accept. This reaction is to be found in both economic and ecclesiastical vested interests.

The new understanding of the Soviet Union is made possible by the sacrifice and achievement of the Soviet power. We have seen them, with an unprecedented supply of materiel and morale, stop and turn the Nazi barbarians. No longer will Americans be so easily fooled by the anti-Soviet propaganda that the new Russia is a utopian and impractical society, or its people "Godless" and demoralized by dictators. War is not only the locomotive of history; it is also a great debunker.

Perhaps the worst threat to good relations today is the renewed fifth column canard that our Russian allies aim to "bolshevize" Europe. All kinds of people spread this venom. In the Midwest we see editorials in the commercial press which echo and re-echo this "fear" constantly. It is time that they also pointed out the Soviet Union's complete solution of the "problem": See to it that British and American troops reach Berlin first! Moscow would rejoice to see it! Failure to establish a second front even in the fourth year of this war inevitably saps the confidence of the Soviet peoples in our *bona fides* as allies. Our continuance of diplomatic relations with Finland, Hitler's niggard partner outside heroic Leningrad, only adds to the puzzle (and with less possibility of excuse).

Except for Mexico and Canada, the Soviet Union is America's closest neighbor. Our countries are alike in their strength and resources and their freedom from *lebensraum* pressure. If Britain's Foreign Office could translate its debt to the Soviets into a twenty-year pact of alliance why can't the State Department in Washington do as much, and more?



Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher

Henry Epstein

Former Solicitor-General, New York

1. American-Soviet relations are not uniformly satisfactory. In the military area it would appear that their affairs are progressing with considerable cooperation and a common understanding of the immediate goal. In the field of foreign relations, the diplomatic area, we are not entirely free from the suspicion of aloofness. Yet there are indications that the wind is blowing in the right direction (vide A. A. Berle's Reading, Pa., speech). On the whole the status is one of improvement.

2. To strengthen American-Soviet ties there must be a greater mutual trust. To further that end there must be some evidence of a repudiation by the Soviet Government of any ultimate desire or program to subsidize or aid the spread of Communist doctrine in this or other lands. A declaration of Soviet internal policy consistent with democratic principles of freedom of religion, speech and press, even if not for immediate realization, would certainly be helpful.

3. At present, I do not believe the absence of a so-called "second front," meaning a continental European front, has any serious effect on our relations. The African front will in due course become the springboard for operations on a grand scale. We cannot speculate on what is the most effective military plan. Russia now understands this.

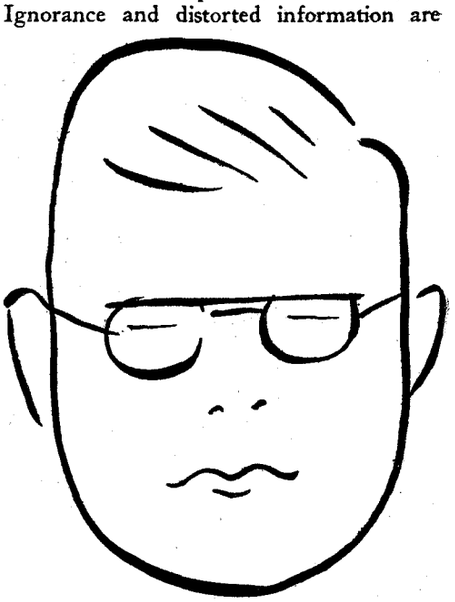
4. Finland is at war with Russia. Russia is our ally. Finland is now and has for some time been under Nazi domination. Nazi Germany is our common enemy. I cannot reconcile our allied warfare with a continued policy of friendliness to Finland. We should at least sever all relations with nations actually at war with any of our allies.

Robert W. Kenny

Attorney General, California

I am one of those who are optimistic about the future of American-Soviet relations. I believe that the force of coming events makes cooperation between these two powers necessary for the welfare of each, and that even people who were formerly not well disposed toward Russia have, in the main, reached the conclusion that it is wise to cooperate with the inevitable.

But I think the process can be hastened. Ignorance and distorted information are



Robert W. Kenny

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at the root of much of our former widespread misunderstanding. A deliberate program of education in our press and other public media would go far toward clearing away ungrounded hates and suspicions. Such a campaign is now under way in some quarters. It can be speeded up and given more range. I do not object to wholesome criticism of an ally, but it is unfortunate that in some publications there is a hangover of irrational, emotional, and snide condemnation.

I think also that our State Department should be made more directly responsive to the people; and that the differences, real and apparent, between administrative policy and our foreign relations, should be removed. In this way the foggy, contradictory and inexplicable behavior of our State Department would disappear, and the suspicions existing between our military leaders and those of Russia would likewise disappear. With forthright discussion and bold commitments on a political plane military cooperation between Russia and the United States would reach a level of maximum efficiency.

Former Ambassador Davies said in a recent issue of *Life* that if we treat the USSR with the dignity, faith, and fairness which we ourselves expect, we will be treated in a like manner. I can think of no better formula for improving relations between two great, fair-minded, and peace-loving powers.

William Harrison

Associate Editor, "Boston Chronicle"

1. American-Soviet relations have tended to improve with the continual increase in the numbers of Americans who grasp the obvious fact that there is no conflict between the national interests of the United States and those of the Soviet Union. Now is not the time to cry over spilled milk, but if that fact had been recognized earlier by our government, less blood would have been spilled than this horrible war has already demanded as its toll for the failure of Great Britain and the United States, in the years preceding September 1939, to arrest Nazi aggression by uniting with the Soviet Union for collective security.

2. The heroic fight of the Soviet peoples in their patriotic war against the invaders of their country has strengthened American-Soviet relations, with "blood, sweat, toil, tears." However, there is still a regrettably noticeable lag between American public sentiment and governmental policy. This must and will be overcome, as the American people solve some of their domestic problems, such as the discrimination which prevents full mobilization of my people, the Negro people, in the national effort for victory over the Axis powers. Indeed, as Vice-President Henry Wallace stated not long ago, much can be learned from the Soviet Union about ethnic democracy. Among the many deeds for which the great Stalin will be remembered by posterity, I feel sure that not the least will be his solution, as People's Commissar for Nationalities, of the vexatious problem of national and racial minorities inherited by the Soviet government from czarist despotism. America can learn much from the Soviet Union about how to strengthen national unity by ridding our land of every residue from the brutal system of Negro chattel slavery.

3. The immediate opening of a second land front on the continent of Europe would not only rout the barbarous Hitlerite hordes in their most vital theater of warfare, but it would also set in motion the people's forces of liberation in occupied Europe which would speed the doom of the Nazis, as every decent human being wishes.

4. Not all the members of the United Nations are facing the same belligerents, in every detail, and so the best policy for any of them to pursue must depend upon diplomatic and military requirements of aid to allies and damage to foes. The test of our government's attitude toward Finland should be: If we break off diplomatic relations and wage war on Finland, will it mean that we shall have to fight on two fronts, as would be the case if the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations and went to war with Japan? The answer is: No. Our British ally, to whom Finland is a belligerent, has faced the problem more realistically than we have done.

William Rose Benet

Poet and Critic

1. It appears to me that the present status of American-Soviet relations is, in general, one of good-will on the part of both countries. There are always factions in all countries and individual differences. Among the people that I know and work with, there is a genuine desire to be friendly with the Soviet Union, to understand the Soviet people, and to learn the actual truth about everything relating to Russia.

2. The principal obstacle to be overcome in order to strengthen the ties between the two countries is a barrier of preconceptions and misconceptions on the part of both countries. While I think it is vital for us to know the whole truth about Soviet Russia, I also think it vital that the common people of Russia really learn something about the United States of America, its history, its aims, and so forth. The principal belief instilled into them by Communist doctrine seems to be that the United States of America is a tyrannical, greedy, self-seeking capitalistic country that perpetually grinds the faces of the poor and practices social barbarities. We in the United States know our own faults and are constantly fighting against the efforts of selfish groups to further their own interests rather than those of the country. But we have hundreds and thousands of high-minded, honest, straight-thinking people in this country. We have accomplished a great deal. The condition of labor in this country is now very good, on the whole, and the position of labor very strong. We know all about our corrupt demagogues, our political crooks, and our various and assorted blacklegs. But we refuse to be judged by our worst elements, just as Soviet Russia, I have no doubt, refuses to be judged by certain manifestations of her government which have seemed to Americans very hard to square with our ideals as asserted in the Bill of Rights. We recognize Russia as an enormously powerful country unified by flaming resolve to defeat Nazism and fascism.

We know the Russians as a greatly talented and energetic people who, we believe, are working through experimentation in government, and social and economic organization, to become in all probability a truly democratic country, with opportunity for all and justice for all. That is what we ourselves hope to be. Just as they have been working through doctrinaire Communism to this goal, we have been painfully working through too ruggedly individualistic a capitalism. That a certain *amount* of capitalism is necessary, to make things work, in any country is, I think, now generally recognized. But such considerations show, in a very general way, why our differing points of view would benefit by actual contact of our peoples, and the knowledge of actual, ***not reported***, conditions. But I have perceived a tendency in Russia toward a nationalism that does not wish its people to examine our country at close range. What I wish is that after the war there might be a great interchange of tourists in both directions, so that anyone who wished (from either country) could take trips to the other and freely examine its institutions. We would learn more that way than in any other.

3. That was so long an answer, that now I will be brief. I believe the plans of the American and British armies at present are progressing very well, and that when we do attack through Europe we will do so with great effect. Meanwhile Russia has been defending her own country with the greatest courage, skill, and fighting fury. I think Washington and Moscow understand each other a lot better than the armchair generals understand either.

4. It seems to me that our government's present attitude toward Finland is one of "watchful waiting," and that it is about the only attitude we can take at the present time. I am not able to discuss that problem now, as I have not sufficient information.

Albert Einstein

The only thing I can say is this: Only through permanent and faithful cooperation between the United States, Great Britain, and Russia can a lasting peace be secured.

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THE FIRST LABOR CASE

Jefferson and his party supported the early trade union movement. . . . The cordwainers' case.

It is not often that Thomas Jefferson is thought of in connection with the labor movement. In this anniversary month of Jefferson's birth, when labor is under assault from certain false patriots, it is appropriate to recall that it was largely due to the rise and triumph of Jeffersonian democracy that American labor first achieved legal recognition of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

In the 1790's, when the Jeffersonian movement was first emerging, skilled workers in several cities in our country were forming trade unions and conducting strikes for higher wages and shorter hours. Organizations of cordwainers (shoe workers), tailors, printers, cabinet- and chairmakers, carpenters, shipwrights, etc., were set up during these years in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities. Naturally the tactics used by these early trade unions were fairly simple; yet it is worth noting that as early as 1799 a trade agreement was drawn up by a committee representing the cordwainers' society of Philadelphia and a committee of the employers, and that ten years later the New York Typographical Society achieved a uniform wage scale throughout the entire industry by means of a collective agreement with the employers in the trade. And, in view of the oft-repeated cry that the closed shop is un-American, it is well to remember that as early as 1805 several of the first American trade unions demanded and secured closed shop agreements.

All this, of course, does not mean that these early unions had smooth sailing. On the contrary, they were forced to face the most bitter opposition from employers, and their major struggle was for the very right to exist. The employers turned to the courts for assistance and proceeded to prosecute striking workers and their leaders on the charge that combinations of workers were conspirers against the state.

This charge was based upon the English common-law doctrine of conspiracy, according to which an individual worker could lawfully ask whatever wage he thought proper for himself, but two or more workers who met together to achieve the same end were guilty of a conspiracy and could be legally punished. The doctrine, of course, struck at the very heart of trade unionism—the only way workers, who do not own the means of production or the raw materials, can elevate themselves is through collective action.

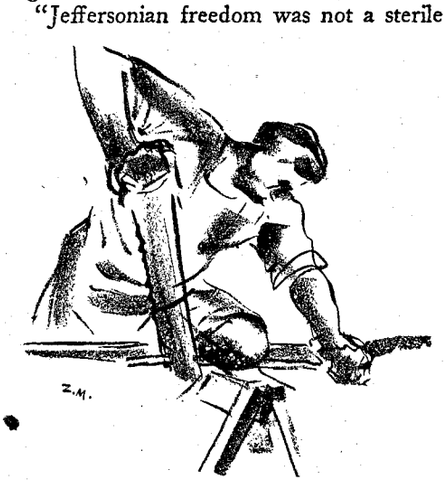
Space does not permit an examination of all the early anti-labor court actions, which, though prosecuted in the name of the State, were instituted by the employers. It is possible, however, by examining the first American labor case, to understand the basic issues involved in all of the trials and their relation to Jeffersonian democracy.

In November 1805 eight shoe workers in Philadelphia were indicted by a grand jury on charges of forming "a combination and conspiracy to raise wages." The case gained nationwide prominence, for it became a battleground for the struggle between Jeffersonians and Federalists. Even before the trial started, the workers appealed to the public to join with them in opposing the establishment of a precedent which was full of danger for all progressive movements in America. The appeal concluded:

"What we have here said will inform the public of our conduct and will show that under whatever pretenses the thing is done the name of freedom is but a shadow if, for doing what the laws of our country authorize, we are to have task-masters to measure out our pittance of subsistence—if we are to be torn from our firesides for endeavoring to obtain a fair and just support for our families, and if we are to be treated as felons and murderers only for asserting the right to take or refuse whatever we deem an adequate reward for our labor."

Significantly enough, this appeal was published in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, a Jeffersonian organ, edited by William Duane, one of the leading champions of Jeffersonian democracy. What is more, the entire Jeffersonian movement leaped to the defense of the shoe workers. Nor was this surprising. As Prof. Walter Nelles of Yale University so aptly puts it in describing the cordwainers' case:

"Jeffersonian freedom was not a sterile dogma; it meant freedom to obtain as well as to pursue a fair degree of happiness. It was obviously not possible for the journeymen cordwainers to obtain such happiness as better wages could confer if the only effective way to raise their wages was closed to them. It was natural, therefore, that Jeffersonian feeling should rally to their defense." (*Yale Law Journal*, Vol. XLI, p. 169.)



There was still another reason, however, for Jeffersonian support of the shoe workers, for one of the chief demands of the movement called for the repudiation of the English common law as a precedent for America. Common law, the Jeffersonians protested, consisted of "unwritten rules, promulgated by judges . . . that is to say, by the caprice, or the bigotry, or the enthusiasm of the judge." Since nearly all judges were biased in the direction of conservatism and politically inclined toward Federalism, it was obvious that the common law could be used by such judges to halt any movement in the interest of the people. Small wonder then that Jefferson felt that the "revolution of 1800" could not be complete until it had "republicanized the law as judicially declared." Or that he and his followers should have felt that the prosecution of the cordwainers was but another instance of the application of the common law to serve reactionary purposes. It was not by accident that Caesar A. Rodney, a leading Jeffersonian, and a year later Attorney-General in Jefferson's cabinet, came from Delaware to serve as counsel for the shoe workers.

The verdict in the cordwainers' case was a victory for the employers. The workers were found guilty and each was sentenced to an eight-dollar fine and costs. Yet it was not a complete victory. The decision outraged the American people, and the Jeffersonian movement in particular bitterly denounced it. This support for the young trade union movement played a vital part in shaping future decisions in conspiracy cases. Thus in several such instances the workers were acquitted, and even where there were convictions usually only light fines were imposed. To quote Professor Nelles again: "Most of the cases showed Tory pressures as strongest, though the Jeffersonian always modified them and sometimes prevailed." (*Columbia Law Review*, Vol. XXXII, p. 1128.)

In the end, moreover, the power of Jeffersonianism almost completely prevailed. In 1840 (Commonwealth vs. Hunt) Chief Justice Shaw of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Massachusetts, upheld the right of workers to organize into trade unions and bargain collectively. In this case Robert Rantoul, Jr., a leading figure in both the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian movements, acted as attorney for the shoe workers' union. Chief

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Justice Shaw reasoned as follows:

"The manifest intent of the association (Boston Journeymen Bootmakers' Society) is to induce all who engaged in the same occupation to become members of it. Such purpose is not unlawful.

"The means which they proposed to employ . . . were, that they would not work for a person, who, after due notice, should employ a journeyman not a member of a society. . . . The case supposes that these persons are not bound by contract, but free to work for whom they please, or not to work, if they so prefer. In this state of things, we cannot perceive, that it is criminal for men to agree together to exercise their own acknowledged rights, in such a manner as best to subserve their own interests."

Chief Justice Shaw's ruling did not completely establish the legality of trade unions and labor's right to bargain collectively. But there can be no denying the fact that the decision in this case was an important milestone in the struggle of the labor movement to gain recognition. And it was largely due to the influence of the Jeffersonian movement, in which labor played a distinguished role, that this later victory was achieved.

The early American trade unionists never lost an opportunity to acknowledge their love for the man whom they regarded as their ideological leader and teacher. At a banquet of the Journeymen Book Binders Union in New York in the spring of 1830, the first toast was in honor of: "Thomas Jefferson: The great benefactor of mankind; the friends of republican liberty will fondly cherish his principles, precepts, and practice. We revere his memory." (New York *Working Man's Advocate*, May 22, 1830.)

And when the workingmen's movement of the 1830's was attacked by the reactionaries of that day as being "subversive," and preaching the principles of "Communism, agrarianism, Jacobinism, and infidelity," it answered:

"Not only is there the greatest similarity between the principles of the party who supported Jefferson in 1801, and those put forward by the Working Men of the present day, but there is likewise a very remarkable resemblance between the mode of attack then employed against them, and that now resorted to against us. . . .

"That the *very same* accusations that were formerly got up against him (Jefferson) *whom we recognize as our political guide*, should now be trumpeted forth against us, is to us a cheering evidence and a happy earnest: an evidence that we have faithfully followed in his steps; and an earnest that the same success that once crowned his efforts shall ultimately reward us." (New York *Working Man's Advocate*, Aug. 11, 1830.)

Jefferson would have been proud of that statement.

PHILIP FONER.

READERS FORUM

Another Occupied Country

TO NEW MASSES: It is very sad to find in our press, our magazines, and our films, side by side with condemnations of racism and a realization that the Italian people have no stake in this wor, a series of sneering chauvinist attacks on that people. That the Italians do not want to fight Hitler's battles for him is perfectly true; so true that we have recognized it by treating Italians as friendly aliens and by a propaganda campaign designed to penetrate Italy itself. The Italian people have everything to lose, nothing to gain from a Hitler victory, which would mean not only the continued occupation of their country by the universally hated Nazis but also the maintenance in power of their own greedy and corrupt fascist machine. It is therefore enlightened patriotism, not cowardice, which makes Italians in Hitler's armies slow down in fighting just as the enslaved French workers slow down in production. This fact is so well known here that there can be no excuse for representing Italians on the screen and in corny jokes as mountebanks and cravens.

Yet we see bad films like *Chetniks*, itself written to glorify the collaborationist Mikhailovich and hence intrinsically pro-fascist, daring to poke fun at the Italians because they don't want to die for the New Order. At present Italy is another occupied country; it can only resist passively. Let the British and Americans give the oppressed people of Europe a second front, a chance to be freedom's soldiers; then they will se how Italians can fight!

JOSEPH GALUPPI.

Chicago, Ill.

For the Red Army

TO NEW MASSES: Your readers may be interested in this letter, which I have just sent to the Ambijan Committee:

Dear Friends:

I have just mailed a Howard watch to you, so you may send it to some Red Army man fighting for us on the Eastern Front.

It is a watch of deep significance to my family. My father originally bought it when he was a young bridegroom in 1888, and it was his last wish that I have the watch as a remembrance.

In turn, I have always felt that it should be a remembrance to little David, two-and-a-half years old, who arrived a little too late to fulfill his grandfather's wish to hold a grandson in his arms.

When David is old enough to understand, he will be glad the watch was sent. He will be proud to know that he had even such a small part in helping a Red Army man. The watch will have a much deeper meaning. It will be a symbol of the solidarity between the peoples of the USA and the peoples of the USSR. It will mean that the best and dearest to us belongs to our comrades across the seas who are so heroically fighting on the front line against the fascist beast.

The watch would have been sent sooner, but it took the jeweler some time to get a special part from the East to put it into the best running order. The jeweler, too, felt that it must be put into the best running order, when I told him where it was going.

EZRA LAURY.

St. Paul, Minn.

More on Casablanca

TO NEW MASSES: In her discussion of *Casablanca* some months ago your reviewer failed to remark on certain very fine aspects of that picture.

I was surprised that she overlooked the admirable treatment of Rick's Negro partner and friend, the piano player of the night club. This man was presented with dignity as sensitive and intelligent; he understood Rick's political and emotional problems and stood by him while he groped his way through them. There was none of the usual nauseous yassa-massa of Hollywood's approach to the Negro, and such a reform is very significant. The use by the Negro pianist of old American jazz, which would be reaching Casablanca about now, was an instance of the extraordinary pains which the film took to achieve verisimilitude. In this connection I may remark on Miss Davidman's appalling ignorance of the jazz field, as revealed in her invariable failure to evaluate movie tunes adequately.

Another magnificent section of *Casablanca* was that dealing with the Vichyman. Presented as entirely cynical and corrupt, this North African official had no compunctions about serving Hitler; he made it clear that he was for sale to the highest bidder, and in his turn bought refugee women for himself with passports and other favors. At the end of the film he went over to the Allied nations—as the side more likely to win—an astonishing bit of foreknowledge at the time *Casablanca* was filmed.

I cannot understand, moreover, Miss Davidman's objection to the prominence of the love story. Certainly love did motivate the political actions of both Rick and the underground leader, but it was all handled in good taste, and do not such things happen in life? Although the films do overemphasize love interest, it is equally unreal to suppress it altogether, and personally I do not think a NEW MASSES reviewer should be anti-love.

EDITHA BOLLENDONK.

Madison, Wis.

Prize for a Song

TO NEW MASSES: I think that *NM* followers might like to know that the Peter V. Cacchione Association is sponsoring a contest for the Second Annual Ball in honor of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist. The prize will be a twenty-five-dollar war bond to be awarded to the winning contestant at the Ball which will be held at the St. George Hotel May 22.

The deadline for the contest is May 12. The subject for the song is, of course, Councilman Cacchione. Songs may concern themselves with his work in the City Council, the need to reelect him this year, or the qualities that make him a real representative of the people.

JIMMY CASTIGLIONE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

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A PRIMER FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT

IF WE are to successfully invade Europe we need the help of every anti-fascist in Europe.

Every anti-fascist in Europe knows that thousands of anti-fascists like themselves remain prisoners in territory already occupied by the American army—in North Africa's concentration camps. They are confused by a liberator who does not liberate, by an anti-fascist ally who keeps anti-fascists in prison, or who, at best, keeps them in labor battalions.

The people of Europe do not understand an anti-fascist country at war with fascism which supports and praises fascism.

Yet the anti-fascist United States supports fascism in Spain, sends it oil, praises its fascist dictator, calls him and his policies wise.

Europe's Jews will be for us to the degree we liberate Jews in territory occupied by the American army.

In the only territory thus far occupied by the American army Jews still suffer under Hitlerian anti-Jewish laws.

The people of Italy will not fight to perpetuate the reign of the House of Savoy.

They have heard—as have many others—that there have been American plans to retain the House of Savoy as the rulers of Italy in the wake of an Anglo-American invasion.

This will make the invasion more difficult by depriving us of the help of the majority of the Italian people and therefore increase casualties.

The people of Austria have heard—as has almost everyone else—that there are American plans to restore the Hapsburg monarchy.

The people of Austria will not cooperate in enslaving themselves under the very monarchy which they struggled against for generations in a fight for freedom.

The people of Europe have heard—as has almost everyone else—that there are powerful American elements more interested in preventing democratic, people's movements in Europe than they are in winning the war against fascism.

This subverts the Atlantic Charter, creates distrust among the people imperatively needed for an invasion of Europe, threatens American security, tends to prolong the war and increase American casualties.

UPON American-Soviet friendship rests the hope of the world.

Upon it rests our hope of victory and upon it rests our hope of an enduring peace.

He who attacks it plays Hitler's game and he who threatens it threatens the national security of the United States.

Despite this fact clamor and intrigue pyramid to menacing heights against a friendship vital for victory and necessary for peace.

There are those who hate the Soviet Union more than they love the United States, those willing to risk our own national safety that they may see the Soviet Union destroyed and defeated.

Pleasant or unpleasant, it is an immutable fact that American and Soviet interests are overwhelmingly identical when both are fighting the same foe for their national existence—and that as a result it is impossible to attack one without hurting the other.

Pleasant or unpleasant, it is an immutable fact that those who attack the Soviet Union are those who attack the President of the United States, who seek to thwart his win-the-war policies, who seek to disrupt the coalition warfare necessary for victory, who oppose the decisions made at Casablanca for the invasion of Europe, who are against the second front which Secretary Morgenthau has said is imminent.

Pleasant or unpleasant, it is as true as gravity that he who traduces American-Soviet friendship uses Hitler's words—and that to the degree his words succeed in separating the two nations the speaker has contributed to Hitler's basic policy of dividing his foes and defeating them singly.

Are there any who would deny that those who agitate and whisper against American-Soviet friendship retard the coalition warfare necessary for victory and therefore prolong the length of the war? That they thus guarantee that thousands of American boys will be killed who would live if the war was victoriously shortened?

Are there any who would deny that those who fulminate against the Soviet Union are the same ones who hope for a negotiated peace with Hitler? Or that such a peace would so strengthen the forces of reaction at home and abroad that the United States of America as we know it now might belong only to history?

Are there any who do not realize that such a negotiated peace would be only a prelude to another and bloodier world war?

APPEASEMENT brought this world war.

Appeasement murdered Spain, sacrificed Czechoslovakia, strengthened Japan, attempted to turn Germany against Russia alone, spurned collective security and guaranteed that millions will die.

Appeasement, resulting in disaster, was always thought to be realistic statesmanship, smart diplomacy.

Appeasement, resulting in world conflagration, was always thought to be a clever scheme preventing people's movements while placating fascists.

Appeasement brought the war and appeasement can lose the war.

Appeasement has threatened our national existence and appeasement can end it.

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FIFTH COLUMN SEAL

Mark Aldanov's novel calls up some stock slanders of the Soviet Union. The strange and dangerous choice of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Reviewed by Frederick V. Field.

THE FIFTH SEAL, *by Mark Aldanov. Translated by Nicholas Wreden. Scribners. $3.*

UNDER ordinary circumstances the incredible dullness of this novel, its conspicuous lack of literary distinction, and its slanderous anti-Soviet character, would ensure it the smallest possible circulation. Unfortunately, however, these normal checks on readers' demand are more than overcome by the enormous artificial circulation which will probably result from the Book of the Month's choice of the novel as the chief May selection.

All the well known fake arguments are going to be dragged out in defense of this book. Its sponsors and their supporters will claim that it is a distinguished piece of writing—they will even suggest that it is in the tradition of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky; they will say that the book is not political but only literary—in other words, that literature and politics are wholly separate. They will, of course claim, that condemnation of the book, and of the BOM for giving it national prominence is Communist-inspired. In an attempt to justify their own position they will resort to the Red-baiting which is the distinguishing tactic of exactly those persons who would choose the spring of 1943 to launch a book that violently insults our heroic ally.

Most important, I believe, those who support the publication and mass distribution of *The Fifth Seal* will defend themselves with the claim that essentially the book is not anti-Soviet. Indeed, this line is already indicated by Bennett Cerf in his *Saturday Review of Literature* column, "Trade Winds" (April 3 issue). Mr. Cerf first admits that the book lacks great literary merit; he says: "I do not happen to think that *The Fifth Seal* is a great book by any manner of means, despite isolated scenes of undeniable brilliance. . . . I would not list it among the more fortunate choices of the Book Club judges." Nevertheless he defends the book: "It is definitely *not* [his emphasis] an anti-Soviet novel. . . . It is, rather, anti-humanity. . . . The Soviet representatives depicted by Aldanov are neither better nor worse than the French, Belgian, or unidentified nationals in the plot. The lot of them are disillusioned and cynical. . . ."

We may for the moment pass over Mr. Cerf's rather extraordinary attempt to justify a book on the grounds that it is not anti-Soviet, simply "anti-humanity," in a period when the world is fighting desperately to maintain the potentialities of a decent, free humanity. Let us consider his argument that after all the Soviet citizens represented in the book are "neither better nor worse" than the disillusioned and cynical French and Belgians and others. Before I analyze the book's characters in some detail I should like to point out that the Soviet representatives to whom Mr. Cerf refers are an ambassador, a military attache, an old-time revolutionist and other members of the embassy staff. Is it not peculiar, to say the least, to justify Mr. Aldanov's depiction of them by associating them with the prototype of those decadent French and Belgian writers, members of the senile nobility, and cynical lawyers who were so largely responsible for the sell-out to Hitler?

I have referred to Bennett Cerf's prepublication defense of *The Fifth Seal* partly because at this writing it is about the only thing published concerning the book, and partly because I believe it represents the most that can be said in favor of this Book Club choice. I propose to show, below, how utterly flimsy even that most is. But first another point should be noted, since the appearance of this divisive, disruptive book is no accident. What has happened to liberals like Bennett Cerf? Are they suddenly frightened by the price of unity among the United Nations? It was this same Mr. Bennett Cerf, remember, who only a year ago, in the March 28 issue of *Publishers' Weekly* gave some admirable advice: the fortunes of war, he said then, "have proven that some of our most deeply cherished theories were utterly false, our old conception of the Russian purges and trials, for instance, and the Russo-Finnish War, evidently were mistaken, *and books that encouraged those beliefs should be taken off sale immediately*. [My italics.] Russia is a friend in need to us today. People who dangle the menace of Russian Communism constantly before us are increasing our chances of losing the war."

BUT to return to the book itself, to the question of whether or not it is anti-Soviet. Well, judge for yourself. The main characters are Kangarov, the Soviet ambassador to a newly opened embassy in an unnamed minor European kingdom (it sounds like Belgium to me, but that doesn't matter); Tamarin, one-time major general in the Imperial Army of the Czar, a former large landowner, now a Soviet military attache; Wislicenus, an old-time revolutionist, collaborator with Lenin in exile, now representing what the author constantly refers to as "those people," by which he sometimes means the Goebbels' picture of the Gay-Pay-Oo but more usually Communists as such; Nadia, a young girl secretary of the ambassador, toward whom most of the others behave like blushing schoolboys; a secretary to the embassy, a fairly decent person who plays the smallest of all the parts; Vermandois, an elderly French author of considerable fame, now plainly tired and cynically disillusioned; Vermandois' young male secretary who commits a sickening crime apparently without motivation (I'm told this is in imitation of some literary tradition with which I won't burden you, and I wish the author hadn't); and sundry minor characters. Throughout the Gay-Pay-Oo and the Gestapo—they are interchangeable in the author's mind—are lurking. Lenin and Stalin come in indirectly,

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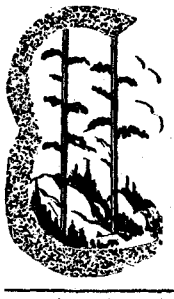

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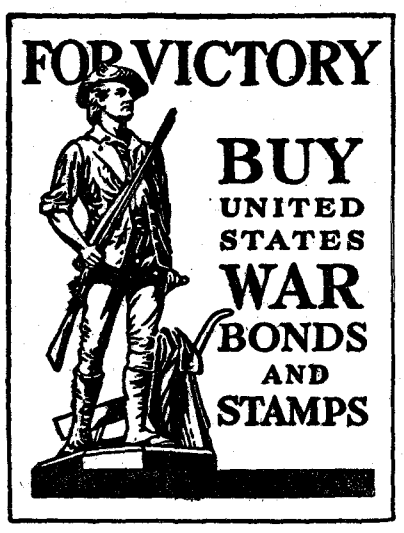

the former for distortion and slander of his beliefs, the latter for thoroughgoing defamation.

I shall be specific about some of these characters, the principal ones. Ambassador Kangarov, it is explained, "had made his acceptance subject to one condition: no one was to interfere with his work and no one was to stick spokes in his wheels. By 'no one' he meant the Comintern." At the farewell audience with "the dictator," he overcomes "the physical fear which Stalin's presence instilled in him as well as in all the other members of the party"; Stalin "transfixing him with a heavy, sardonic stare," etc., etc. (pp. 12-13).

This alleged ambassador of the Soviet Union reads the newspaper accounts of the Moscow trials, and Aldanov describes his reactions: "According to the story the accused had made a clean breast of it and confessed. But Kangarov barely took time to read that part of it: the accusations were so absurd. 'Good God, what is he [Stalin] trying to do?' the ambassador whispered. 'These men were Lenin's right hand.' " Later on, Kangarov received instructions from Moscow regarding the trials and the author says that for the ambassador "The entire problem was most unpleasant."

Throughout the book Kangarov makes no attempt to hide his loathing of the old revolutionist Wislicenus. In planning a swanky dinner in Paris Kangarov is thinking of inviting Wislicenus, but "He had no desire to invite 'one of those people' to the dinner." He nevertheless had to, with the result that after the party Kangarov reflects on his Soviet colleague: " 'What a lout. What an animal. What a son of a bitch.' "

Don't for a minute think, however, that Wislicenus is depicted as a genuine, loyal Communist. Far, far from it. He, too, has all the ingredients of a rat. For instance, on reaching the first German station in the railway journey from the Soviet Union, he sees a detachment of storm troopers on the platform. He notes the "pleased, self- satisfied, dull expressions"; they fill him with hate and disgust; "But inwardly he had to admit that the other young people, who marched around Moscow, had the same general appearance and even wore the same expressions—only these [the Nazis] looked a trifle stronger, healthier, and neater." Later in the book, in one of his frequent reveries, Wislicenus says to himself: "I stood the cruelty, the rottenness, the spilling of blood as long as I believed that we were building a new life. But when it becomes apparent that we are heading for a hopeless muddle to everyone's sincere and malicious delight, there is nothing else I can do." A splendid figure of a revolutionist, indeed! But of course not in the slightest bit anti-Soviet, Mr. Cerf.

Such a fine revolutionist is Wislicenus that he believes Hitlerism not only comparable to the Soviet system but perhaps superior: "They have a stable of Aryan thoroughbreds, and we have a Communist zoo. . . . We have created the largest and finest school for producing scoundrels—why should we fool ourselves with thoughts about the future? 'Planned economy'? 'Proper food'? 'Cheap housing'? The Germans have solved all of this better than we have: their food is better, their houses cleaner, their plan more practical, and their 'talents' are given more opportunities to assert themselves. In the end they probably will gobble us up. This will mean that Lenin has sacrificed himself to create another Aryan stable. . . . As far as I am concerned it is all over. . . ." What a pity the author himself did not reach the same conclusion when he fled from the Revolution in 1920.

Shall we look for a moment at a third principal character, former Czarist Major General Tamarin, now Soviet military attache? He does admit that "There is no use being narrow minded: all the Dukes were not angels, and all these [Soviet citizens] are not scoundrels. Occasionally you come across a very decent person among them. . . ." This condescending "neutrality" is not always so evident in the old soldier's sentiments. With respect to the Ethiopian War, for instance, "personally, he wanted to see Italy win: he considered Mussolini a great statesman—'we did not have a man like him and that's why things have happened the way they have.' " Regarding Spain, however, Tamarin was practically as neutral as the Non-Intervention Committee! "There are no two ways about it," he surmised, "this war is absurd. . . . Obviously there are wars that are justified, but this one is senseless. . . . And what is my attitude? Essentially it makes no difference to me who wins: Miaja or Franco. As far as I am concerned they are both musical comedy generals."

I could go on citing passages in nearly every page of Aldanov's interminable book to prove that there is no let-up, no relief in the slanders, insults, lies. But perhaps by now you have a general idea of what Mr. Cerf tells us is definitely not an anti-Soviet book. I should like to know what more it needs to change his mind—and my private guess is that it requires only one added effort from Mr. Cerf himself: that is, to read the book.

One extended, consecutive section of *The Fifth Seal* deserves special mention, for it is the most substantial, carefully written attack on the Soviet Union and on its founder, Lenin. And it probably reflects most accurately the political line that Aldanov and his colleagues are trying to put over under the guise of a literary novel. That line is put into the mouth of the useful stooge Wislicenus, and it is found on pages 109-114. The argument starts with the premise that "the error in our combination was that our theory was built on faith in man, on faith in his dignity and the possibility and necessity for his moral

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mprovement. In practice, however, everything had to be based on the assumption that man is stupid and foul. . . . Lenin had developed this line of thought but he had concealed it from us until the time came to carry out some of his decisions. . . ."

Aldanov goes on to maintain that "the human soul cannot exist under the terrific pressure to which we exposed it." Under that pressure, he says, "people turned into slime" and the leaders themselves "turned into slime." These leaders contaminated the people "with a form of moral syphilis" and the people in turn contaminated the rulers. The Russian people, Aldanov would have us believe, were led "back on the path to medieval gangsterism."

This unmitigated insolence is the perverted language of Hitlerism. Are "slime" and "moral syphilis" the qualities that describe the people of the Red Army, Navy and Air Force who literally saved humanity from the horrors of Nazism? Are the millions of men, women, and children in the Soviet factories and farms the "crippled human derelicts" that this man would have us think? Are Stalin, Voroshilov, Litvinov, Timoshenko, Malinovsky, Maisky, Kalinin, Zhukov the chosen leaders of a "depraved" people?

We do not have to answer your words, Mr. Aldanov; the people of the United Nations are doing it every day in their enthusiastic, admiring support of their great fighting ally. The shame is that because of your publishers and the Book Club we have to pay any attention to what you write.

That long passage of Aldanov's, the nature of which I have indicated, has its fitting conclusion in a final outburst of historical depravity:

"*No one knows who will be right when history makes its final appraisals, perhaps it will be Trotsky, perhaps—Hitler.*" [My italics.]

WHO has perpetrated this filthy piece of work? The publisher's jacket blurb says that "Because of his deep and sincere devotion to liberal principles he [Mark Aldanov] had been living since 1920 in Paris." Aldanov fled the Revolution; in Paris he was a leader in the exiled Russian community, ceaselessly plotting the overthrow of the Soviet Government. He came to this country at the outbreak of the war and he is continuing his metier in America, this time with the blessing of a prominent publishing house and the Book-of-the-Month Club. This particular disruptive effort was planned and largely written in Paris in 1937, at the height of the anti-Soviet hysteria over the Moscow trials. The first two-fifths of the book, 213 pages of the present edition, appeared at that time in Paris, in Russian. Mr. Aldanov says in the Author's Note of the book just issued: "I have made virtually no changes for the American edition."

The fact that *The Fifth Seal* is not even a new work makes its publication by Scribner's and its sponsorship by the BOM definitely suspect. Why at this critical moment in history, when the war may soon reach its climax, should these American book organizations seek out a novel written and partly published five years ago, and an unbelievably dull one at that? Whether or not the selection of this book was in fact deliberately intended to damage relations between the American people and the heroes of Stalingrad, there can be no doubt whatsoever that that is the author's intention. The publishers, and the judges and management of the Book Club must be severely condemned at the very least for lack of taste, patriotism, and judgment.

How could the Editorial Board of the Book-of-the-Month Club—you, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Christopher Morley, William Allen White, Henry Seidel Canby—have made such a tragic mistake?

The Fifth Seal itself provides us with the most suitable conclusion to a review of the book. Indeed the novel summarizes itself with the last spoken word in the last paragraph, spoken by that old French writer Vermandois. With his face convulsed, he said *"Merde!"*

FREDERICK V. FIELD

On War's Fringe

WAR IS PEOPLE, *by Lorna Lindsley. Houghton Mifflin. $2.75.*

"WAR IS PEOPLE" is a collection of the personal reminiscences of a Parisian-American free-lance writer in Spain in 1938, Palestine in '39, and France during '40-'41. Lorna Lindsley, whose background is Western mining camps and deep-sea sailing, finds the fighting people of loyalist Spain *simpaticos*, has a way to the heart of plucky British ship captains running supplies through the blockade of Barcelona, interviews Axis-bribed terrorists in Palestine, and drives up and down France on side roads while the Nazis invade it. Always ready with an illicit sausage or slab of margarine for a hungry refugee, Mrs. Lindsley "bootlegs" Red Cross aid in Bordeaux when a "jittery official" closes the office at the appearance of two Germans. Returning to occupied Paris, she forms a link in the "underground railway" of escape for the hunted.

With the intimate effect of a conversation that leaves many important things unsaid and stresses the personal experience however fleeting, Mrs. Lindsley's quiet writing etches deeply into one's mind the knowledge that this war began in Spain—that Spain was the "test" and still is, from the days of the tragic farce of non-intervention" up to the present ominous days of non-invasion. International Brigaders, like grim reminders, pop up everywhere in her travels to witness the indivisible nature of the war.

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ON THE DIAL

Lorna Lindsley saw Munich from Madrid, where Chamberlain's sellout of Czechoslovakia was felt as a death blow to Spain. The fascists had watched "to see if the democratic nations would rally to the defense of the Spanish republic and make common cause against the New Order in Europe. They saw the disunity and sensed that their road was clear. Madrid had not yet fallen when they gathered the first fruit of the political experiment." She saw the bewilderment of the French at their betrayal during the "phony war" and the armistice. For a while there was disillusionment, even apathy, but she stayed (and was glad she stayed) to see "the French spirit revive and the dangerous moment of acquiescence pass away." She stood in the food queues which became "forums for the people." As time wore on, people still desired to break out of the jail of Nazism, "but another desire grew. It was to rally, to unite, to mutiny, to destroy. As France went deeper and deeper underground, the resistance of the people spread; mischief and obstruction gave place to vengeance."

In Palestine she saw the fraternal solidarity of Jewish and Arab workers being broken by the Nazi-inspired terror tolerated by further British non-intervention, so that four years ago "this small and passionate country" seemed, in its disunity, a ripe "plum to fall into the mouth of a conqueror." Today, she notes, now that the real opponents are drawn up and defined, "the Arab fights against Hitler side by side with the Jew."

War Is People is definitely light reading; it has the incomplete and often shallow quality of a sketch-book. There is, as the author herself recognizes, a certain irresponsibility about the life of a free-lancer, even when caught "on the frantic fringe of war." But it is a level-headed book and an honest one. It should reach the kind of people who won't read a book that "talks politics." Its picture of the cities of Europe with their lights going out —Barcelona, Madrid, Paris, Bordeaux— and its picture of the simple courage of the common people fighting back in the darkness and preparing to rise again should be an eloquent indirect plea for the Yanks to come soon! TOBIAS SWIFT.

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SWORD'S EDGE

Joy Davidman reports on a savagely vivid picture of the Norwegians bearing arms. . . . An African triumph and a French failure.

"EDGE OF DARKNESS" is not a perfect film, and who, in Heaven's name, cares? Its defects are soon enumerated and soon forgotten: dialogue a little stiff in the joints, a too pretentious use of miniature shots, too many figures crowded on the canvas. In its effort to tell the *whole* story of an occupied country, *Edge of Darkness* introduces more characters than it can handle without confusion. The result is a clumsy and tedious introductory section in which one situation after another is sketched and its participants characterized. This first half hour, disfigured as it is with fancy backgrounds, overdramatic music, and the superfluous cuddlings of the romantic leads, might well have been lopped off. But suddenly *Edge of Darkness* gives itself a shake and turns into a masterpiece, as if the disorganized pieces of a jigsaw puzzle were to leap together and become Rembrandt's *Night Watch.* All at once the separate stories of individuals fuse into the single story of the people.

Comparison with *The Moon Is Down* is inevitable. *Edge of Darkness* lacks the beautiful economy of the Nunnally Johnson film, where every shot is in exactly the right place and there is not one shot too many. It lacks the harmonious perfection of detail; there are some jarring notes, especially in the love story. In short, it has less mastery of its material than Johnson brought to the somewhat thin stuff of the Steinbeck book. But that material is so far superior to Steinbeck's that *Edge of Darkness* remains appreciably the better picture. It does not try to symbolize the struggle of Norway in an artificial duel between a Nazi spokesman and a Norwegian spokesman. It does not simplify issues to a mere philosophical definition of freedom. Instead it gives you the facts; the rape, the brutality, the hysteria, the betrayal; the eventual surge of a fighting people. There is one character in *Edge of Darkness* who behaves like the talkers of *The Moon Is Down.* He is the old schoolmaster, so superbly played by Morris Carnovsky that he sums up the entire point of the film; a philosopher, he makes an individual protest against Nazism, declaring that the individual must stand like a rock for freedom. But —and here is where *Edge of Darkness* manifests a far more profound social understanding than the other film—the schoolmaster learns that the individual, by himself, cannot be a rock; that he is destroyed, and his verbal protest is only a joke to those who cannot be reached with words. Once the futility of unorganized individual heroism is demonstrated by the old man's fate, there is no need for explicit discussion or quotations from Socrates. He has only to say, "Perhaps this proves a point." And the audience knows what point has been proved.

Edge of Darkness understands the Norwegian struggle so well as to achieve a realism unusual on our screen. The life of the little town is not artificially constructed, but a continuation of the life outside the theater. Its quislings are not mere accidents planted on the people from without by the Nazis, like Corell in *The Moon Is Down;* they are, significantly, the town's one capitalist and his weak-willed nephew. The town's revolutionary leader is not a reflective intellectual—indeed, the doctor and the schoolmaster have to overcome their middle-class individualist delusions before they can become part of the people's fight.

"Salome." From the current exhibition of sculpture by Hesketh, at the Feragil Galleries, New York City, April 12-24.

The leader is a fisherman, marked by the Nazis as "head of the fishermen's union—when they had one." The town's women have not the sweet passiveness traditional in our films, where the heroine so often waits like a modest hen till the cocks finish fighting over her. Instead they take a creative part in the struggle; the admirably conceived hotelkeeper, a lonely woman who has fallen in love with one halfway decent German soldier, nevertheless holds him off inflexibly and, in the end, strikes him down in the revolt and wrenches his field telephone from his dead hand. And one of the screen's nastiest taboos is broken. After being raped by a Nazi, the film's young heroine is neither crushed, separated from her fiance, nor killed off as "the most merciful thing that can happen." Her status as a human being is not changed, her self-respect is not impaired; she pulls herself together and goes on fighting. The harem morality by which such a girl was once considered "ruined for life" has gone with the wind, gone with the hoopskirts and the magnolias.

INDIVIDUAL Norwegians are magnificently characterized; Mr. Carnovsky's magical interpretation of the courageous and pathetic schoolmaster is one in a gallery of fine portraits. Charles Dingle plays the quisling-in-chief, a little fox not unlike the one portrayed in Lillian Hellman's film, with the same insight; and such minor figures as the chattering, somewhat senile storekeeper who nevertheless proves his manhood are studied subtly and well. Nor are the Nazis less human. Their captain is studied in detail, a neurotic, hysterical, unpleasant young megalomaniac much more believable than Steinbeck's gentlemanly colonel. Their soldiers are brought to life as a group by the inspired method of dramatizing their sense of humor; sheer horror has rarely been so expressed as in the scenes of Nazi soldiers having a little fun.

The Norwegians' sufferings are perhaps too much compressed, too often conveyed in a shot or two of a bale of blankets sent off to Germany. Only with the torture of the old schoolmaster do they become immediate. But the Norwegians' actions are not left to the imagination. We see them holding a revolutionary meeting in church, the children guarding the door; when

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Nazi soldiers approach, the congregation breaks into a hymn, then goes back to its planning. We see them hiding the guns the British have sent; and finally, when their leaders are about to be shot, we see the windows open and the hidden guns look out. One of the film's most tremendous moments comes when the town's peace-loving pastor, at prayer in the church tower, turns from his devotions to his machine-gun. And the annihilation of the Nazi garrison is a masterpiece of directing, carried out at an accelerating tempo to an explosive climax.

The staging is a shade too decorative, but that is soon forgotten when Lewis Milestone's direction picks up speed. The acting, with two exceptions, is magnificent; to those already mentioned must be added Judith Anderson's extraordinary portrait of the hotelkeeper, Helmut Dantine's of the Nazi captain, Roman Bohnen's of the storekeeper. Walter Huston, though rather muffled in his whiskers as the town doctor, makes that somewhat indeterminate character convincing. The exceptions, and the film's most annoying flaw, come when Young Love pushes its silly face into the proceedings, in the persons of Errol Flynn and Ann Sheridan, both of whom are as pretty as Tanagra figurines and just about as lifeless. It is astonishing how much harm their limpness does the picture. Miss Sheridan is meaningless except, oddly enough, when she raises a rifle to her shoulder. Mr. Flynn is never anything but a talking doll; and one or two of his lines are so ill-chosen, all things considered, as to provoke the horse laugh of the season.

"DESERT VICTORY" is an admirable example of the simplest sort of documentary film—the sort which, having an exciting subject to cover, merely records events as they happen and runs them off in chronological order. For any other story than that of a magnificent campaign, the method is too flat. The British Army's progress across Africa in the last few months, however, is stirring enough to present without much editing or embellishment, and the result is an honest and intelligent if somewhat unimaginatively constructed film. There is real insight in the early sections, with their description of education for war. The British soldiers, far from being kept in ignorance of objectives and methods in the old "theirs but to do and die" tradition that used to lose so many battles, are encouraged to prepare for action ahead in every possible way. At the same time they are shown relaxing, singing, standing on the desert against the sunset sky. The photography here is extraordinarily fine for a film of action, especially when the oblique lights of sunset and night are used.

Then the action starts; an artillery barrage, the advancing infantry, the tanks. Men pick their way carefully over the mined earth; men fall and die before your eyes. Before the fighting started the pipers were playing Highland Laddie; now you see a piper walking into action, the notes skirling above the roar of guns. There is a peculiar excitement in this battle-music; somehow it adds an extra touch of reality to what is deadly real already.

The use of simple animated diagrams dramatizes the tactics of the British offensive until you understand exactly how the German line was broken. *Desert Victory* is much more than a pep-talk or a paean of a triumph, for out of it you gain not only an appreciation of this particular campaign but a sharper understanding of war.

ACCORDING to advance publicity and Charles Boyer's commentary, *Heart of a Nation* was smuggled out of France at great risk by underground workers. It is hard to see why they bothered. As the story of a French family over a period of seventy years, the picture is all odds and ends; members of the family are no sooner introduced than they go tearing off to die melodramatically in the jungle, for no particular reason, and instead of developing con-

KNOW YOUR ENEMIES

(Under this title, each week, we will expose defeatist attempts to take over democratic culture, and indicate necessary action.)

Three Coils of a Rattlesnake:

The Warning Rattle—Two years ago, just after Hitler invaded Russia, Senator Nye of America First leaped into the breach. He recognized Hitler's crimes — by demanding that the movie industry stop revealing them. He listed anti-Nazi and non-political films as criminal provocation of long-suffering Germany. . . . The sequel was the grotesque Senate investigation of films by isolationists Clark, Nye, Wheeler, et al., condemned by press and nation from President Roosevelt down. Isolationist senators indulged in Jew-baiting and alien-baiting, drawing loud cheers from Hearst and Social Justice. . . . Darryl Zanuck and others led movie industry's fight, revealing that senators had not seen the films they attacked, or, in some cases, any others. But who listed "suspicious films" for the film-illiterate senators? Washington Merry-Go-Round traced it to Winfield Sheehan, embittered unsuccessful producer and alleged pro-fascist. . . .

The Rattler's Backbone—Two weeks ago Variety exposed G. A. (German Agent) Viereck's plot, during his unexpected vacation from jail, to get secret control of stage, screen, and radio in conjunction with leading appeasers, and use these media for defeatist propaganda. David Platt in Daily Worker: "This program undoubtedly has the full support of Winfield Sheehan, who . . . is close to the America First crowd. . . . His pro-fascist sympathies were a subject for scorn several years ago, when he was the only prominent man in Hollywood who opened his doors to entertain Leni Riefenstahl, Hitler's closest female companion."

Meanwhile Congress isolationists smear Darryl Zanuck in revenge for his fight two years ago and subsequent anti-Axis work. . . .

The Poison Fangs—First major blow in the Viereck campaign of sabotage: the projected film life of Rickenbacker, protested strongly by labor unions. New York Times reports screen play to be written by Paul Green, who worked on Native Son and should know better. . . .

Comment by The Independent, film trade journal: "We think it ill-advised . . . to immortalize one Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, who . . . has allowed himself to become a figure of discussion rather than one of inspiration. . . . Millions of motion picture patrons are up in arms over his nation-wide utterances of a controversial nature. . . . It is all the more remarkable that the man who plans to film this so-called epic is none other than Winfield Sheehan. . . . It's pretty generally believed that Sheehan was largely responsible for what started out as an attempt to dimout the motion picture industry a couple of years ago. . . .

"The fact that he as an individual is returning to the industry which did so much for him is worth only a passing note. The fact that he, justly or unjustly, has been identified with a group whose love for democratic principles has—to put it mildly—been open to question, is a different matter.

"Looks like a case of 'If you can't lick 'em, jine em.' It bears watching."

It will bear more than that; it will bear extirpating, like any other venomous creature; it will bear letters of protest to Congress and OWI against the Rickenbacker film and any other undertaking of Winfield Sheehan.

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SCIENCE *and* SOCIETY

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tinuously the story travels in a series of jerks. No attempt is made to show the Froments as a part of French life; instead there are lively little genre pictures of family squabbles and the like. As social comment, however, the film fails even more signally. Mr. Boyer's superadded remarks heaping contumely on the Germans do not give the film much relevance, nor do they add any insight to the almost criminal naivete of *Heart of a Nation's* analysis of the war. No mention of the betrayal of France by the Comite des Forges, no suggestion of the reasons for fascism, no admission that France's prewar political role was anything more than that of a helpless victim. Instead there is name-calling of the most lamentable sort; the Germans are all brutes, they've always been brutes, and they always will be; fascism's just another name for German will-to-conquer; they have to be exterminated; they want our prosperous agriculture (!) because they've never learned how to grow crops or make anything for themselves (!!!!). As for France, the film offers the argument so often heard in the night court—"I was just standing on the corner minding my own business, Your Honor, and this guy he came along and socked me in the eye."

Threatening to exterminate Germans as an inferior race is hardly an honest method of fighting fascism, and this film whines so hysterically that it is a wonder Goebbels did not show it to build up German morale. The introduction of speeches praising the Free French and condemning Vichy, the shots of starving French people listening to Roosevelt's speech addressed to them, are good things in themselves; but they need a good setting. About the only instructive experience one has in this film is that of hearing "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay" sung in French.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Berle and Czechs (Cont'd)

little enthusiasm over the Bullitt-Berle formula for a Pan-European confederation.

Aside from relations with the Czechs, the course followed by Berle and his friends has resulted in a foreign policy which Gardner Cowles of the OWI is constrained to describe as the great enigma of the United Nations. Nothing more surely undermines morale and the war than to permit the Berle-Bullitt intrigues to continue. Evidently Berle felt or was told that he had better get into line—his Reading speech was verbal recognition of the complete bankruptcy of everything he has done and everything he has advocated, for all his sleazy justifications of the appeasement of Vichy, accompanied by his ominous warning that "This kind of work has to continue until the war is ended." If Berle's eagerness to reform is to have any content, now is the time to call in the promissory note he offered, to demand that he redeem it in the hard cash of action.

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25—Evening of Chamber Music. Recital benefit New Masses. 23 East 92nd St., N. Y. C.

25—School for Democracy—Recital. Jefferson's music and music of his period. New work by Earl Robinson and Louis Lerman. 13 Astor Place.

25—Y.C.L. 21st Anniversary. May Day Rally. Felix Fuld Hall, Y.M.H.A., Jersey City, N. J. 1.30 P.M.

25—Jewish Council for Russian War Relief. Rally Benefit Ukrainian Organizations. Concert. Kenneth Gordon, Ukrainian Leontovich Choir. Town Hall, 2.30 P.M.

28—Russian War Relief of Staten Island. Rally. Quincy Howe, Stanley Isaacs. Curtis High School, Saint George, Staten Island.

30—New Masses. "Can We Win the War NOW?" Maj. George Fielding Eliot, Capt. Sergei Kournakoff, Johannes Steel, Henry C. Cassidy. Mecca Theater, 133 W. 55th St., N. Y. C.

30—N. Y. Newspaper Guild. Annual Dance. Hotel Astor.

May

2—United May Day Committee. Labor for Victory May Day Celebration. Genevieve Tabouis and others. Yankee Stadium, 2 P.M.

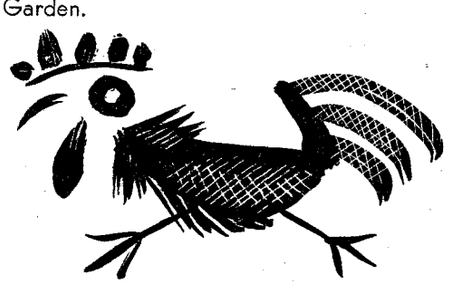
14—Richard Boyer on "Inside Germany." Entertainment by Fred Keating. Auspices Anti-Fascist Press Group. 1349 Lexington Ave., Apt. 5B.

22—Peter V. Cacchione Association. Second Annual Dance. Al Moss, Laura Duncan and others. St. George Hotel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

23—IWO March to Freedom Pageant. Morris Carnovsky, Sam Wanamaker. Madison Square Garden.

June

7—Negro Labor Victory Committee. Negro Freedom Rally. Madison Square Garden.



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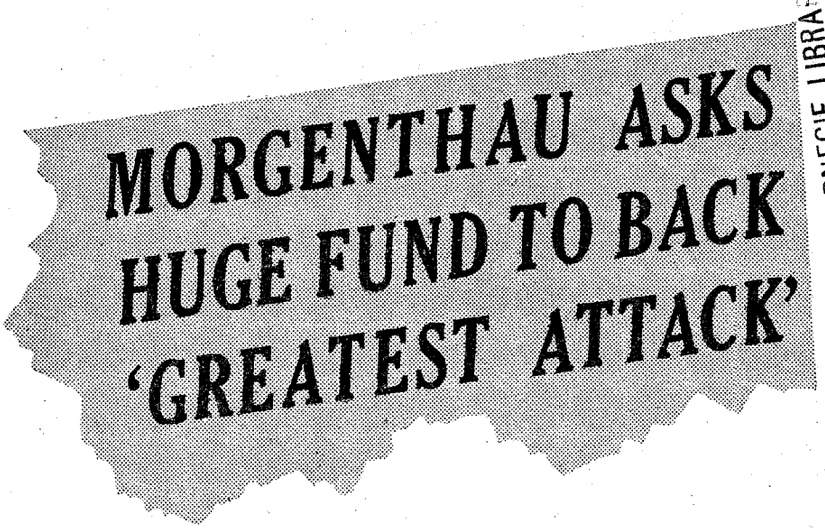

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